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ABSTRACT

The common thread that runs through the papers that comprise this volume is an assessment of the decade of the 1970s as a time of retreat, retrenchment and lost opportunities in the long struggle to create equality of opportunity in the United States. Black America ended the decade in a less favorable position than it began the 70s. As it moves into the 80s it faces the almost certain possiblity that it will be entering a decade in which blacks will be hard pressed to hold onto many of the tenuous gains made in the past. The papers include: "Economic Progress" by Bernard E. Anderson: "Black Families in the 70's" by Robert B. Hill: "Education: A Matter of Grave Concern" by Bernard C. Watson: "Energy--a New Day" by Ellis Cose: "The State of Social Services in the Black Community" by Georgia L. McMurray: "Changing Trends in Housing" by Wilhelmina A. Leigh: "On Politics" by Charles V. Hamilton: "Crime: A Major Problem in Black America" by Garry A. Mendez, Jr.: and "Thoughts on a Conflict" by Leslie W. Dunbar. Conclusions, recommendations, and a chronology of events in 1979 complete this volume. (RLV)

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The State of Black America 1980

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INTRODUCTION

BY

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

For black Americans the decade of the 1970's was a time in which many of their hopes, raised by the civil rights victories of the 1960's withered away; a time in which they saw the loss of much of the momentum that seemed to be propelling the nation along the road to true equality for all its citizens. Within Black America in the 60's there had been eager anticipation that racial wrongs might be set right, a feeling that perhaps the nation was at last serious about attacking racism and poverty. The 70's however, brought forth in Black America a mood of disappointment, frustration and bitterness at promises made and promises unkept.

We were only three years into the 70's when Newsweek Magazine in a cover story asked the question, "What Ever Happened to Black America?" Barely ten years after the March on Washington its troubling conclusion was "the great surge that carried racial justice briefly to the top of the nation's agenda in the 1960's has been stalemated -- by war, economics, the flame-out of the old civil rights coalition and the rise to power of a New American Majority. Blacks and their special problems have gone out of fashion in government, politics and civil concern."

Little happened in the succeeding seven years to alter that assessment. The Second Reconstruction, so well begun, was left uncompleted as attention turned to other matters and the problems that have traditionally crippled the majority of black Americans over much of our history were left to fester and grow worse. The lesson of the 1970's was not so much that programs and policies fashioned to correct racial inequities failed. Rather, the lesson was that the commitment of the American people to correct these inequities failed as many of the successful programs and policies initiated in the 60's were allowed to languish and die.

It is now the accepted thing to talk of the failure of leadership in the 1970's, of the erosion of public confidence in so many of our institutions including the White House, the military, the CIA, the FBI, big business, the schools and others, leaving the American people confused, resentful and all too willing to seek an illusionary refuge in a "new negativism" that when reduced to its basic elements simply stated -- he who has keeps, and he who has not, doesn't get. Perhaps leadership, both public and private, did fail us, but to assign all our woes and tribulations to this factor is too simplistic a way to explain how in the brief span of ten years, we as a nation, managed to undo so many of the good things we had achieved in the name of equality of opportunity and the great American Dream.

We might set the beginning of the retreat in the late 1960's and early in the 1970's when "benign neglect" became the battle cry against the War on Poverty, affirmative action and compensatory programs. "Benign neglect" was not the only villian but at the very least it came to represent a damaging philosophy of negativism that was accepted by many Americans as an alternative to the positive actions that had been taken, primarily by government, to provide assistance to minorities and the poor in their struggle to pull themselves out of the mud of economic deprivation.

The American people were tired and willing to listen to voices that promised them a respite from change. The nation had gone through a period of racial upheaval never before experienced; it was bogged down in a war it could not win; women, Hispanics, native Americans and others were clamoring for new rights; the cities were falling apart, or so it seemed, and in our foreign affairs the rest of the world no longer trembled when we spoke.

Much of America wanted to slow things down and what that cost Black America is shown in statistics from the beginning and at the end of the 1970's. Black income which was over 60% of white income in 1969, fell to only 57% by the end of the decade. More blacks were poor at the end of the 70's than at the beginning. The black middle-class, described as rapidly expanding by some so-called experts, actually declined from 12% to 9% of all black families during this period.

Statistics alone do not tell the full story of what happened to Black America in the 1970's for there were also signs of further alienation from the majority as black people sought jobs that were not there, black children left the public schools without the tools that would enable them to compete with others, government grew cold and indifferent, and hope for a better day grew fainter and fainter in the hearts of many.

Not a Time of Progress

Not all of the losses can be laid at the doorstep of "benign neglect" or its off-spring "the new negativism," for certainly inflation and the generally unfavorable economic conditions throughout the decade played their important roles as well. Nor did all blacks lose ground. For many, new job opportunities opened up, fresh educational possibilities developed, better housing and health care became available, and life was richly satisfying. Nor did all of our allies turn to other interests. Many of them continued to believe in and work for equality of opportunity. But on balance, it is clear that with depression level unemployment and the majority of blacks on the lower rungs of the economic ladder at decade's end, the 70's were not a time of progress within Black America.

In assessing "The State of Black America" as it was in the 70's and specifically as it was in 1979 -- as this publication will do -- it should be clearly understood that the State of Black America can never really be any better than the State of America. Put in yet another way, Black America is so much a part of the totality of this nation that anything that affects America must, by the very nature of this society, affect Black America as well.

This fact of life is sometimes lost sight of as demonstrated in 1979 when the legitimacy of the interest of black Americans in the smoldering affairs of the Middle-East was called into question by some sources, bespeaking an attitude that said in effect black people have no right to enter any public arena of discussion except that of civil rights. Such an attitude is of course patently ridiculous and a gross affront to black Americans who have the right and indeed the responsibility to concern themselves with every single aspect of this nation's programs and policies, both foreign and domestic.

When American hostages were seized in Tehran, black Americans felt the same need to speak out in support of their government as white Americans. The possibility of the onset of another "Cold War" or some other response in the wake of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan has just as much meaning for black Americans as it does for whites, for everyone will have to bear the cost of any decision reached by our government. And black Americans should, and in fact must continue to involve themselves in mid-Eastern affairs and in affairs in all areas of the world from humanitarian and practical considerations.

If blacks have had little to say about the formulation of American foreign policy in the past, one of the reasons has most certainly been the lack of an available mechanism through which their voices could be heard. To rectify this, we believe that a Black Foreign Policy Institute should be established at one of the major black colleges for the express purposes of undertaking research and study into foreign policy from a black perspective and providing information to Black America which would then forge its own responses to foreign policy issues. We believe further that the institute should be funded by American philanthropy and that it should be guided by an advisory board or committee that reflects the diversity of opinion within Black America.

Within this context it should be clearly understood that from time to time there will be disagreements on some issues among black Americans. These disagreements should not, do not, and will not damage the basic unity of blacks in their continuing struggle to achieve total equality. The black community is not a monolith. It is made up of 26 million people who differ in regional characteristics, ideological commitments, and economic interests. It is united to the extent that all blacks know we do not enjoy equality and that we must continue to fight for our rightful place in the American sun.

We recognize that there is room for disagreement among black leadership but we face the 1980's united in our respect for each other and in our commitment to work together to advance the cause of black Americans.

Racism, Alive and Well

In 1979 Black America learned once again -- as if it ever forgot -- that racism, far from being dead, is alive and well in the American body politic. The most striking and indisputable piece of evidence was the alarming rise in acts of violence directed against black people. These acts were not confined to any one section of the country, and in fact seemed to occur with greater frequency outside the South. They reached their apex in Greensboro, N.C. in mid-November when five people were murdered and several Ku Klux Klan members were charged with their deaths. America should have been reminded by this that once race hate is uncorked it is almost impossible to put it back in the bottle.

It was clear in 1979 that the Klan was on the rise again. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported that while that despicable organization represented only a "tiny fraction of the American people" it was stronger in 1979 than it had been in the previous ten years and its new members are younger and more prone to violence in keeping with the general pattern of Klan activity which consists of openly espousing violence and the staging of well publicized confrontations with black groups.

Even more disturbing than the acts of violence -- for these were at least sporadic and exposed to public view -- was the subtle kind of racism that appeared to be gaining support throughout the year from "good people" who would never think of vandalizing a home because its occupant was black, or burning a cross. As one sociologist put the matter this "polite" kind of racism produces an attitude in which "whites seem increasingly committed to integration as an ideal...but (are) increasingly reluctant to support the mechanics of intergration: busing, or affirmative action or the building of public housing in suburban areas."

This attitude was further reflected in a New York Times article of December 3, 1979, that reported both black and white officials pointing to rising racial tensions in the nation's suburbs ranging from subtle social factors to overt racism evidenced in continued resistance to fully accepting blacks in previously all-white neighborhoods and establishing racial quotas in rental housing.

Such manifestation of racism, whether overt or covert, should deeply disturb all Americans. It was not all that long ago that the American people allowed racism to run rampant throughout this nation leaving behind seas of blood and mounds of broken bodies. That nightmare still haunts us, still soils our national honor.

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Do we really want this to happen again? We believe without reservation that the vast majority of the American people do not. But we must also warn that apathy and behind closed doors racism give tacit consent to the cross-burners, the vandals and the murderers. Americans seriously concerned for the welfare of their country, now and in the future, must speak out against this rising tide of hate before it succeeds in plunging us back into another nightmare.

No other event stirred Black America to such a degree in 1979 as the resignation of Andrew Young as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. In one of the essays appearing in this volume a wise and astute observor, Leslie Dunbar, discusses the ramifications of the Young Incident at some length. But at this point it seem proper to acknowledge that the traditional alliance between blacks and Jews that had already been strained over the issue of affirmative action was further weakened in the wake of the incident. Efforts to repair those ties have been undertaken at both the national and local levels and they are bearing fruit. The plain fact is that blacks and Jews have too much in common with one another to remain at odds.

What would be helpful in enhancing these efforts is a recognition that since the Supreme Court has ruled so precisely in favor of affirmative action in the Weber case, the time has come to end the debate over the subject that, in some instances, has split the two communities. The time has come for our Jewish allies to accept the principles enunciated by the Court's Weber majority as the basis for a stand on affirmative action that could be supported by both Jews and blacks. Together then we can move on to other issues where we share a mutuality of interest and where we each can draw strength from the other.

Survey Taken Among NUL Affiliates

Helpful in any examination of Black America is to discover how it feels about certain important issues. To secure this information the National Urban League in late 1979 went to its 116 affiliates scattered across the country with a series of questions. Deeply immersed as they are in the affairs of their local communities, we believe the individuals who responded are in an excellent position to accurately read the mood of Black America. This is what they reported.

> QUESTION 1 - In the aftermath of the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young and subsequent events linked to that resignation, has there been any change in the attitude of the following groups (black leadership - average black individual) toward the Jewish community?

Of the affiliates responding, 74% reported that the attitude of black leadership was unchanged, 21% said it had worsened, 3% saw it as improved and 2% did not know. As for the average black individual, 70% said attitudes were unchanged, 22% reported them worse, and 3% had no evaluation.

A number of the respondents indicated media coverage of the incident tended to exacerbate the situation giving rise to the belief that the Jewish community was involved in Mr. Young's resignation.

> QUESTION 2 - In the aftermath of the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young and subsequent events linked to that resignation, has there been any change in the attitude of the following groups within the Jewish community (Jewish leadership - Jewish individuals) toward the black community?

Of the affiliates responding, 48% reported no change of attitudes among Jewish leadership, 25% said it had worsened and 17% said they did not know. On the question of individual Jewish attitudes, 52% reported no change, 18% said attitudes had worsened, 3% said they had improved and 27% did not know.

QUESTION 3A - If black-Jewish relations have been damaged within your locality -- at the leadership level -- how would you describe efforts to repair that damage?

(Only those affiliates reporting damage were asked to respond to questions 3A, 3B, 3C.)

In answering this question, 52% reported that there had been limited efforts, 12% said there had been extensive efforts and 36% said there had been no efforts -- at the time the survey was made.

QUESTION 3B - Who has been the primary instigator of such reconciliation efforts?

A majority of the efforts -- 61% -- were attributed to joint undertakings by both blacks and Jews, 29% reported the leadership had come from the Jewish community and 7% said it had come from the black community. Three percent said it had come from other sources.

QUESTION 3C - How would you describe the results of such reconciliation efforts?

A large majority -- 70% -- agreed that it was too early to tell, 20% said they had been successful and 10% described them as not too successful.

Report on Affirmative Action

QUESTION 4 - How would you characterize the degree of commitment to affirmative action activities in 1979 with the following institutions (business and industry, colleges and universities, local government)?

The affiliates gave the following responses.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Moderate - 58%
Very little - 42%

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Moderate - 41%
Very little - 59%

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Great Deal - 7%
Moderate - 41%
Very little - 42%

QUESTION 5 - Comparing 1979 to 1978, has there been any change in the degree of commitment to affirmative action activities within the following institutions in the area served by your affiliate?

The responses follow:

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Less - 22%
More - 19%
The Same - 59%

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Less - 31%
More - 15%
The Same - 54%

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Less - 24%
More - 20%
The Same - 56%

QUESTION 6 - Acts of violence against blacks -- such as cross-burnings, vandalism -- have been reported on the increase of the country. How would you assess the incidence of such acts in your locality over the past year?

Responding, 47% of the affiliates reported an increase in such acts, 21% said they were at the same level, 5% said they were decreasing and 27% said they posed no problem.

The greatest increase was reported from the eastern section of the country, followed by the central, southern and western states. Where increases were reported they were generally linked to black families moving into previously all-white neighborhoods. It was also reported that in a number of instances local authorities tend to treat cross-burnings as youthful pranks.

QUESTION 7 - If your answer to the above question indicates the presence of violence, at whatever level, to what do you attribute such violence?

The largest percentage of respondents -- 36% -- attributed the acts to organized hate groups, specifically the KKK. Another 30% linked them to economic pressures, 22% said they were the unorganized acts of individuals or groups, 6% were not sure and 6% tied them to other factors.

An examination of the responses indicated a deep concern over the rise of organized hate groups. In a number of instances, anti-black feeling was seen growing out of the myth that blacks have been given all the opportunities and are doing better than the majority groups in this country.

Better Understanding Sought

To record the specifics of what happened in Black America in several crucial areas and to interpret these events, the National Urban League asked a group of recognized authorities to prepare papers in their specific areas of knowledge for this, the fifth annual "State of Black America." These papers follow and we thank the authors for their contributions.

We present these papers in the hope that they will help create a better understanding of the nature of life within Black America and thus encourage the adoption of programs and policies that effectively address the problems and needs of this sector of our society. The papers, however, are the results of the independent thinking of the authors and should not be construed as representing the official positions of the National Urban League. Our recommendations appear later in this document.

Finally, it is not amiss to conclude this introduction with the observation that as the decade of the 1980's begins, America finds herself in a Presidential election year. The black voter, as he did four years ago, can have a decisive voice in this election, but we would suggest that any candidate or political party would make a grevious error in taking the black vote for granted.

Our historical tradition and status as non-profit, non-partisan, tax exempt social service agency precludes our endorsement or support of any candidate or political party. We are comfortable with this because of our faith in the black voters and their ability to carefully consider both issues and candidates and vote for what is in their own best interests. We only caution that they not rush to judgment, but calmly and deliberately make their choices.

At the same time, we urge black Americans to increase their voting strength through registration, and most importantly, by voting. We urge them to become totally involved in all political parties noting that one of the few encouraging developments of the 1970's has been growing evidence that in making political choices, the black voter looks past party labels. We applaud this sign of political maturity with the sure conviction that just as it is good for black Americans, it is good for all Americans.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
President
National Urban League

January 22, 1980

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

By

Bernard E. Anderson

I. INTRODUCTION

As the nation enters a new decade, it is useful to pause and consider the experience of the recent past and the challenges immediately ahead in achieving equal opportunity in American economic life. At the beginning of the 1970's, blacks stood poised in a posture of expectation following notable victories against segregation and discrimination during the heightened consciousness of racial inequality sparked by the civil rights movement. The new decade, however, brought a national mood that appeared less hospitable to special efforts to improve the socioeconomic status of the black community.

Blacks saw the inauguration of a national administration that appeared to place their needs for better jobs, better housing, better schools, and wider participation in the nation's public and private institutions at a lower point on the list of national priorities than was evident during the latter years of the 1960 decade. The call for "benign neglect" replaced the hope that "we shall overcome."

In such an environment, serious questions were raised about the appropriate role of government in promoting racial equality, the potentially harmful effects on other groups from efforts to assist blacks, and the continuing significance of discrimination itself as a major barrier to black socioeconomic progress. Public advocates, elected officials, and scholars in many fields vigorously debated these questions and often were armed with sophisticated statistical and other empirical evidence.

Yet despite the vigor of the debate, few indisputable answers emerged, and the nation now continues to confront the difficult question of how, and under what conditions, the black American will pursue his continuing quest for full economic citizenship.

In short, as we enter the eighth decade of the Twentieth Century, the American people continue to confront the "problems of the color line." Despite numerous attempts to ameliorate racial inequality, including broad initiatives through public policy, the goal of equality of economic opportunity for black Americans continues to be elusive.

Most blacks enjoy better economic circumstances today than they did in the past, but their position remains markedly inferior to that of most whites, and is far from secure. Although some blacks have achieved notable economic success, many thousands remain locked in the chains of poverty. For most of them, the hope for a better life is still a distant dream. Many others, while not in poverty, still face restricted opportunities because of their race. The nation has not found the solution to racial inequality in economic life, but the continuing search for such solutions should be high on the national agenda for 1980 and beyond.

Among the challenges blacks face at this time is the search for clarity concerning the real meaning of progress achieved during the past decade, and the identification of effective strategies for promoting further gains. Has there been a "widening economic gap" between blacks and whites?[1] Do the trends observed during the past decade represent simply an "illusion of black progress?"[2] Have we in fact observed a "declining significance of race" so that factors associated with social class now loom larger than racial discrimination as barriers to greater equal opportunity?[3] These are some of the questions troubling black intellectuals and members of the leadership class, and until such questions are resolved, the momentum necessary for achieving sustained progress toward eventual amelioration of racial inequality in American life will be constrained.

This paper will summarize recent trends in economic progress among blacks, focusing on their employment and income experience. The discussion will also assess the linkage between public policy and black economic progress. Finally, some critical issues that might be significant for the employment and income position of blacks during the next decade will be identified.

II. TRENDS IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS

A. Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment

In late 1979, there were 12.4 million blacks in the labor force. They held 11.1 million jobs, and 1.3 million were unemployed. The total civilian labor force included 104 million. Total employment averaged 97.6 million, and unemployment was 6.0 million. Thus, blacks comprised 12.0% of the labor force, 11.3% of the employed, and 22.1% of the unemployed.

During the 1970's there were divergent trends between black men and women in the labor force. The labor force participation rates among black men declined from 76.5% to 72.1%, while increasing from 49.5% to 53.3% among black women.

Most of the decline of black men in the labor force was concentrated among men aged 55 and older. But there was also a significant decline among young black men, aged 18-24. No doubt the difficulty young blacks face in obtaining jobs contributed to their discouragement from participating in the labor market. This widely recognized national problem affected black youth of both sexes but the participation rates for young women remained about the same during the decade. In contrast, the participation rates for white youth of both sexes increased significantly.

The decline in participation among older black men was a continuation of previous trends, and was similar to the experience of older white men. On the other hand, one major development during the decade was the continuing rapid growth of labor force participation among white women, especially married women. In the past, white women have had less attachment to the labor force than black women. If the trends of the 1970's continue however, the labor force participation rates of black and white women should converge, and be virtually equal in less than seven years.

B. Employment

Between 1970 and 1978, black employment grew from 8.4 to 10.5 million, while total employment increased from 78.6 to 94.4 million. Thus, between two years, the share of total employment accounted for by blacks as a group increased from 10.7 to 11.1%. The share of all jobs held by adult black males, however, declined slightly from 5.7 to 5.5%; and that held by black teenagers remained unchanged at less than 1%.

The adult white males' share of total employment also declined, but white females increased their share of all jobs from 29.7% to 32.4%. Also, white teenagers of both sexes saw their share of jobs expand from 7.1 to 7.7%.

B. Unemployment

Throughout the decade, unemployment remained a serious barrier to economic security for the black community. The average annual number of blacks unemployed doubled from 750,000 in 1970 to over 1.4 million in 1978. Total unemployment during that period increased by less than 50% (from 4.0 to 6.9 million). Among blacks, women experienced the largest rise in unemployment.

Much of the job loss among blacks was experienced during the 1973-75 recession, the worst the nation saw in 40 years. Blacks lost their jobs at almost double the rate experienced by whites between the third quarter of 1974, and the second quarter of 1975, the worst part of the recession. Much of the job loss among blacks at that time can be attributed to the high rate of layoffs in the mass production industries where a disproportionate number of blacks were located. Moreover, as the recovery from the recession got underway, blacks were called back to their jobs at a slower pace than whites. At the same time, unemployment among black youth was rising at an alarming rate.

A closer look at the differential recovery of black and white workers from the last recession might be instructive. Between 1975 and 1978, unemployment among whites dropped by about 1.7 million, while black unemployment remained virtually unchanged. A further examination of the data shows,however, that black adult women had the most persistent problem of unemployment during the period, followed by a continuing rise in unemployment among black teenagers.

These trends in the number of unemployed were reflected in the behavior of the black unemployment rate during the decade. Between 1970 and 1978, the black unemployment rate increased from 8.2 to 11.9%, and was over 10% for five of the eight years. In contrast, the unemployment rate among whites rose from only 4.5 to 5.2% during the decade, and was at no time higher than 8%. The comparative experience saw the 2:1 black white unemployment ratio retained through most of the decade with a sharp rise during the 1973-75 recession.

The experience for black youth was even more unfavorable. After hovering in the neighborhood of 25% for most of the 1960's, the black teenage unemployment rate broke through the 30% ceiling in 1971 and has remained there since that time. The unemployment rates among young adult blacks aged 20-24 also edged upward during the last several years above levels observed in earlier periods. This development is the reverse of the experience among young adult whites whose unemployment rate has steadily declined since 1975.

C. Unemployment, Hardship, and the Female Headed Household

Unemployment today while still undesirable, does not carry the same threat of economic catastrophe experienced by many persons during the Great Depression. The modern welfare state provides many forms of income support for persons temporarily out of work. Workers in some industries even receive company funded supplementary income assistance above unemployment compensation benefits during short periods of joblessness.

Despite these benefits, however, economic security still rests largely with those fortunate enough to hold a full-time job through most of the year. This is especially true of blacks. For example, although 27.8% of all black families lived in poverty in 1974, only 11.4% of blacks who were year-round, full-time workers lived in poor families. By 1977, the proportion of black full-time, full-year workers in poor families had dropped to 7.3%. The comparable proportion for whites was 4.3%

Many of such families are headed by black women.[5] The double disadvantage of being black and female makes black women with disrupted marriages the most deprived group in our society. About three of every five black families headed by women were living in poverty. Yet, only one of every five black families headed by a woman who worked full-time, all year was living in poverty. The message in these statistics is that stable employment is a powerful engine for economic security. Poverty among black families headed by women will not be eliminated by jobs alone, but such families cannot hope to achieve sustained economic progress until ways are found to reduce black unemployment.

D. Occupational Trends

Blacks entered the 1970 decade after achieving measurable gains in technical, managerial and other white collar jobs during the 1960's. They had left low-paying jobs in agriculture and household service at a rate considerably greater than that of whites.

During the 1970's, however, the pace of progress toward occupational equality declined significantly. For example, the number of black professionals increased only half as fast during the 1970's as during the previous decade 130% vs. 61% much the same can be said of the expansion into clerical jobs (120% vs. 60%). Similarly, the growth of black employment in the skilled blue collar jobs was also half the rate observed during the previous decade. On the other hand, the movement out of unskilled work, especially private household employment, continued at a rate similar to earlier years reflecting, perhaps, the availability of alternative income support opportunities as well as changing consumer demand and higher wages for household service.

Although black occupational status improved marginally during the decade, there was little improvement in relative income within occupational groups. Between 1971 and 1975, there was virtually no change in the ratio of median earnings of black men to white men in managerial, professional, and skilled craft jobs. The relative earnings of black men in unskilled blue collar jobs declined during the same period. Similarly in 1975, black women had 56% of median earnings reported by white women in the professions, and 69% of median earnings in clerical jobs, compared with 66% and 70% respectively in 1971. These comparisons illustrate the failure of occupational progress to narrow significantly the black/white income gap during the past decade.

E. Income Trends

In 1978, blacks had a median family income of $10,880 which, when adjusted for inflation, represented a "real" gain of 6% above 1977. In comparison, real median income for white families was $18,370, a 2% gain over the previous year. Thus, the average black family enjoyed only 59 cents for each dollar available to the average white family for the purchase of goods and services.

The gap between black and white family income widened during the last decade, in contrast to common impressions among many observers.[6] During the 1960's, the relative family income of blacks increased, and reached 61% of white family income in 1969. Since that time, there has been a perceptible deterioration in the relative income position of blacks, with the decline observed in all regions of the nation, except the South.

For example, between 1969 and 1976, the ratio of black to white family income fell from 75 to 63% in the West; from 76 to 67% in the Midwest; and from 67 to 61% in the Northeast. The black/white family income ratio inched up from 57 to 59% in the South.

The decline in the relative income position of black families is attributable, in part, to the sharp drop in multiple earners among black families, while multiple earners among whites have steadily increased. The worsening income position is also relatived to the higher incidence of unemployment among blacks. For the first half of the decade, the number of whites employed year round in full time jobs increased twice as fast as the number of blacks so employed. Similarly the number of blacks unemployed 15 weeks or more has increased steadily over the past five years.

F. Income Distribution

Within the black community, family income has historically been less equally distributed than white family income, but the differences between the two groups have narrowed slightly over the last decade. The sluggish economic growth during the 1970's arrested the income gains many hoped would occur among blacks, and there is little evidence that progress during the decade contributed to a significant decline in black poverty. In 1978, 27.5% of the nation's poor population was black; the comparable ratio in 1969 was 29%. The proportion of all blacks below the poverty level dropped steadily during the late 1960's and early 1970's, but since 1972, the rate of escape from poverty has declined in an environment of slow economic growth and higher than average rates of unemployment.

III. PUBLIC POLICY AND BLACK ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The broad trends in the labor force status and income position of the black community presented above, illustrate the modest gains achieved during the past decade. It would be incorrect to say there was no improvement in the economic status of blacks; some persons achieved notable progress and moved closer to the enjoyment of economic security. Such persons, however, represented the minority of blacks; for the community as a whole, the decade, at best, was a standoff.

It is almost as though blacks were like the Red Queen in Alice in Wonderland; they had to run fast, just to stand still. Despite greater legal protection against discrimination, and wider opportunities in education, black progress in the American economy left much to be desired. Part of the reason for this experience can be traced to unfavorable changes in the American economy; perhpas as much, if not more, can be attributed to the decline in national commitment toward special efforts to ameliorate racial inequality in American life.

A. Persistent Economic Travail

Throughout the 1970's, the nation was faced with economic conditions incompatible with a sustained movement toward greater economic opportunity for blacks. The decade began with a serious problem of inflation that lingered on and worsened substantially during its last three years. The decade will also be remembered as the time when oil prices tripled, causing the price of all petroleum-based products to rise sharply. During the same time, productivity fell to an all-time low, blocking any realistic potential of achieving measurable gains in real income.

In an effort to correct what many considered persistent inadequacy in economic performance, the Congress adopted the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, formally labeled Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978. The Full Employment Act set a national goal of 3% unemployment for adults, and 4% for all workers by 1983; a rate of inflation of 3%, dropping eventually to zero; an improvement in the balance of trade; a balanced federal budget; and a limit on the growth of the federal government relative to gross national product (GNP). The ambitious goals were to be achieved through a process of coordinated decision-making in economic policy involving the executive branch, Congress, and the Federal Reserve Board. Although a timetable was set for achieving the goals of the Act, the President was given authority to modify the timetable if required by economic circumstances.

Members of the black leadership were among the key advocates for the adoption of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, and for the election of a national administration that would implement it. The formidable challenge of achieving full employment, however, proved more difficult than many suspected, and by late 1979, the nation seemed close to the brink of recession, with little hope of lowering unemployment and achieving other goals of the Act in the immediate years ahead.

Full employment is unlikely to be pursued vigorously in an environment of double digit inflation. The troublesome problem, as seen by many economists is prolonged difficulties in bringing inflation under control and raising national productivity. For example, the Congressional Budget Office, an economic forecasting unit with a respectable record of accuracy over the past several years, now forecasts real GNP growth rates at 1.5 to 2.0% through the next decade.[7] If this projection is correct, the 1980's may hold even less promise than the 1970's for significant and sustained black economic progress.

B. Employment and Training Policy

One of the bright spots during the past decade was the expansion of federal support for jobs programs to assist the economically disadvantaged. In 1970, such programs were funded at $1.4 billion, but by fiscal year 1980, the federal government planned to spend about $10 billion for these purpose. A major addition to the available resources was the $1 billion Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act adopted in 1977. This act almost doubled the funds devoted to youth employment problems, and in late 1979, discussions were underway to preserve and extend the special commitment to youth in 1980.[8] During the past several years, employment and training programs have been directed increasingly toward minorities, and blacks have shared in the expanded resources. In 1978, blacks comprised one-third of all participants in comprehensive employability development programs; about one-fourth in public service jobs; and one-half in summer youth employment programs.

Some critics have complained that employment and training programs do nothing to improve the labor market experiences of their participants, and are, at best, expensive placebos in an economy of increasing distress. Such comments are inconsistent with the best evidence on the impact of such programs, especially that which is based on careful program evaluation techniques.

Specifically, the best available suggest that blacks have gained measurable benefits from participation in the Supported Work Program, the Job Corps, Apprenticeship Outreach, and some skilled training programs linked with job placement.[9]

The Supported Work Programs concentrated on welfare recipients, ex-offenders, ex-addicts, and young school drop-outs. About 10,000 persons, 85% of whom were black and Hispanic, participated in the specially designed programs during the past four years. Each group, except youth, showed post program earnings gains significantly greater than those of similar persons who did not participate in the programs.[10] Supported Work offers no guarantee of success for the most economically disadvantaged, but does show benefits for many participants, especially long-term welfare recipients.

Similarly, blacks who completed Job Corps programs in 1977 and 1978 showed positive earnings gains compared with comparable non-participants. Black men reported average weekly earnings improvement of $26 and black women, $20. While the gains for blacks were positive, however, they were less than gains reported for white Job Corps completers.[11]

Black women in the Work Incentive Program, between 1974 and 1976, reported annual earnings gains of $255 for a combination of labor market services, and $1357 per year for subsidized employment alone.[12] At the other end of the occupational hierarchy was the Minority Women Employment Program, which during the past eight years has placed about 1750 black women in managerial, professional, and technical jobs and increased their annual earnings, on the average, about $2,500.

It is important to call attention to this evidence because of its implications for policy directions during the next decade. The important point is that federal jobs and training programs do not offer a "quick fix" solution to all the nation's ills in unemployment, discrimination, and poverty. Such programs, however, have demonstrated a capacity to improve the employment and earnings status of many participants, especially when the programs were carefully targeted to persons with greatest needs; were well managed; and were tailored carefully to the realities of the labor market.

In the 1980's, employment and training programs will continue to play a major role in the social policy mix designed to reduce unemployment. This is especially true of youth employment programs. Black youth continue to have very high unemployment rates and the black proportion of the youth population is expected to increase during the next decade.

It is incumbent upon the black community to insist that a fair share of employment and training program funds be targeted to the needs of the black unemployed, especially youth, and that the programs with the best performance records be expanded, while those offering no measurable benefits be abandoned. It is equally important for blacks, as a group, to develop more institutional resources for evaluating the impact of such programs so that black perspectives on program performance can be made available to policymakers and opinion makers. Today, far too much time and effort must be spent by black leadership to defend the legitimacy of social action programs against the criticism of those, who in the interest of "fiscal conservatism," advocate sharp reductions in federal expenditures for jobs and training programs.

C. Anti-Discrimination Efforts

During the past decade, the role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was enlarged, and the agency acquired stronger enforcement powers to assault the remaining vestiges of race and sex discrimination in the labor market. EEOC now may initiate and pursue Court proceedings based on its investigation of discrimination charges, and may direct its resources against discrimination in state and local governments, educational institutions, and the federal government itself.

The new authority of EEOC, complemented by an enlarged budget, enabled the agency to accelerate its drive against discrimination, and some notable victories were achieved. Foremost among the victories was the landmark settlement of a suit against AT&T in 1973, which called for cash payments in excess of $50 million in compensation for past discrimination and as bonuses to minorities and women, transfers to better-paying jobs. The At&T accord became a standard for similar agreements that were negotiated between EEOC and employers in the trucking, steel, and other industries.

Federal court review of employment discrimination cases weakened some elements of the enforcement process, but strengthened others. On the other hand, court decisions limited the potential for class action suits, and placed constraints on the payment of attorneys fees and back pay settlements. On the other hand, the Supreme Court in its decision in Weber V. Kaiser Aluminum Co., spoke loud and clear on the legitimacy of private efforts to correct the present effects of past discrimination. The Weber decision offers as much opportunity as private employers might desire to move swiftly toward the design of special efforts to equalize the occupational status of minorities in the work force in cases where past discrimination, either within or outside the firm, has blocked the advancement of blacks toward improved job opportunities.

D. The Impact of Anti-Discrimination Efforts

Some have suggested that efforts to correct discrimination in the labor market, while laudable, bear no relationship to gains in the relative position of blacks. Evidence assembled in a study completed in 1976 casts doubt on that conclusion.[12] The study compares changes in black employment in firms reporting to EEOC, with black employment trends in the labor force as a whole. Although the comparison does not offer a rigorous test of the association between enforcement practices and employment trends, the evidence is nonetheless, instructive. (Table 2)

Black employment in EEOC- reporting firms rose much faster than employment as a whole between 1966 and 1974. For example, blacks gained 23% of job growth in EEOC-reporting firms, as compared with 15% in total. Among white collar workers, black clerical and sales workers increased faster on EEOC-reporting payrolls than in other firms. In the professional and technical fields, EEOC data show blacks with a 14% gain in job growth, as compared with 11% for the total growth of such jobs. In contrast, there was a lag in job growth among blacks in managerial positions. They accounted for 11% of the expansion of managers and officials in the labor force as a whole, but only 7% in the EEOC-reporting firms. Blacks, however, showed a much larger share of new skilled blue collar and all service jobs in the EEOC firms: 27% of craft jobs, as compared with 15% for all firms; and 26% of service jobs, as compared with 11% for all employers combined.

This evidence suggests that firms subject to the requirements of affirmative action, and perhaps involved in the adjustment of claims charging discrimination, acted in ways to produce greater occupational upgrading among blacks compared with firms where equal employment opportunity concern was less important. A similar conclusion can be drawn from other studies of this issue.[13] At the same time, however, it appears that the expansion is much slower in the managerial ranks of the corporate world than among job occupations at the lower end. This means the task of occupational upgrading for blacks remains considerable.[14]

IV. SOME ISSUES FOR THE 1980's

Looking ahead to the next decade, several potential issues emerge as important determinants of movement toward improved economic opportunity for the black community. Although many forces will affect the pace of progress for blacks in the American economy, three issues will need special attention: 1) intergroup competition in the labor market, b) the emphasis of strategies on race as compared with social class distinctions, and c) special efforts to reverse the steady downward drift in the economic opportunities for black women heading families.

A. Labor Market Competition

Developments in American labor markets are placing strains on the capacity to create and sustain steady improvement in the economic status of blacks. Although hard evidence often is not available, sufficient observations about current trends suggest reasons to be concerned about the potentially unfavorable effects of competition among the rapidly growing numbers of minorities, women, youth, and undocumented workers participating in the labor market. Every effort should be made to accommodate the desires of all persons willing and able to work to be employed in jobs commensurate with their abilities and experience, and at fair rates of pay. The labor force participation rate of women, especially married white women has increased sharply, and promises to continue to rise. If anything, stronger measures should be taken to assure the absence of discrimination against women so that their wages will not be artificially constrained as a result of new female workers being crowded into a narrow set of sex-segregated jobs.

At the same time, it is important to assure that black workers experience improvements in their occupational status at rates at least commensurate with their overall participation in the labor force. Special efforts might be required to protect the access of minorities and women combined to the higher-paying jobs in order to prevent competition between the two from producing inequities that are harmful to the interests of either group.

Much the same can be said about the problem of undocumented workers. Insufficient data are available to estimate the number of such workers now participating in the labor market, but many observers are concerned that job competition has been exacerbated by the rate of illegal immigration. Efforts to better understand the meaning and economic consequences of illegal immigration should be high on the national research agenda in the 1980's, but even before the evidence is clarified, it will be useful for black and Hispanic leaders to seek ways to prevent animosities and hostilities between the two communities arising out of perceived competition over limited job opportunities.

The key to seeking ways for minimizing unfavorable intergroup labor market competition is to recognize much of the current black unemployment problem as a form of structural unemployment. Much of it rests upon decisions by firms to move out of urban areas, to mechanize production techniques, to expend international business activities, and to raise their hiring standards in response to perceived expansion in the size of labor supply. The inexorable force of such impersonal economic maximizing decisions can create disastrous consequences for black workers. In recent weeks, for example, a major domestic steel manufacturer decided to close down several facilities in the Midwest in order to cut production costs. Such decisions display insufficient concern for the human cost of business decisions, and in this case, is especially harmful to blacks because they represent a sizeable proportion of employees in the steel industry.

A second issue of importance for the determination of strategies for greater economic opportunity is the continuing debate over whether the contemporary economic problems of blacks is more a question of race or class. There is no question that race has declined significantly as a separate and distinct barrier to black economic progress in the labor market. There is much evidence that many blacks with good educational credentials, solid work experience, and strong motivation are increasingly experiencing gains in professional, managerial, and skilled jobs with commensurate income gains.

For example, the number of black families with annual income of $25,000 or more increased to more than one half million in 1977. This number accounted for 4.2% of all American families with similar income, a black proportion of total which almost doubled during the 1968 to 1977 decade. Viewed from another perspective, the growth in the number of families in the high income category (above $25,000) was three times faster among blacks (157%) as whites (52%) during the decade. Although such evidence does not suggest blacks have reached the millenium of affluence, it does suggest that many black families are beginning to enter the income categories where changes in life style and economic well being are important.

On the other hand, blacks with poor educational attainment, poor work histories, and limited motiviation have found themselves increasingly worse off. No one would suggest that racial discrimination no longer exists, or that all blacks who are capable of occupational upgrading are receiving the opportunities they deserve. The issue is what strategies are now likely to be most effective in narrowing the remaining gap between black and white income earning potential.

It is clear that a vigorous, healthy economy is a vital ingredient for economic equality. Then, is the failure of national policy makers to strenuously pursue full employment that would benefit blacks an issue of race or class? Is the continuing failure of many school systems to provide quality basic education for millions of black school children an issue of race or class? Then also, is the growing flight of black middle income families from the central cities to suburban areas seeking better schools and security from crime a matter of race or class?

These are troublesome questions that do not lend themselves to easy answers. What seems obvious, however, is that strategies that move beyond race as a central focus will become increasingly important in formulating effective remedies to the contemporary problems of blacks in the American economy. Race discrimination alone is not the only barrier to greater economic opportunity, and little will be gained by failing to confront the issues raised by the changing domain of opportunity for the better prepared black workers, as compared with others who because of persistent unemployment, poor education, poor housing, negative attitudes toward work and toward society at large have become increasingly isolated from economic progress.

Finally, the dreadful condition of families headed by black women should be a matter of serious public concern. Part of the problem is due to marital disruption: proportionately more than twice as many black as white women were separated or divorced (19.9% compared with 7.4%).

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When a marriage is broken, nearly half of black families are thrust into poverty. In March, 1977, one of every three black families was headed by a woman. About three out of five of the black families with children were living in poverty.

The women in many of such families are either unemployed or concentrated in low-skill, low-paying occupations. Many others are confined to welfare dependency. In fact, the major divergence between blacks and whites with respect to a specific income source in public assistance and welfare. Blacks recieved 36% of the total welfare payments in 1974, as comapred with 6.8% of total income and with 11% of the nation's total population.

Thus, while the vast majority of blacks as well as whites recieve their income through work (about 83% of each group), blacks are disproportionately subject to welfare dependency. Stated differently, while the number of whites receiving welfare exceeds the number of blacks so situated, the incidence of welfare dependency is much greater in the black community, and is concentrated among families headed by black women.

The major solution to this problem will be welfare reform which emphasizes the preparation of more low-skilled black women for stable, well paying jobs. As indicated earlier, the Supported Work Program has demonstrated the capacity to help achieve this objective. Gains can also be seen among some particpants in the Work Incentive Program (WIN). Such programs must be expanded, and additional efforts must be made to eliminate sex discrimination. An added ingredient for success in dealing with this problem will be the search for ways to reduce teenage childbearing among black youth. Such matters are not within the province of economists, but the consequences of current trends are obvious to any observer.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The review of employment and income trends during the past decade and the identification of some critical issues that should be addressed during the next decade, emphasize the continuing need to place economic equality near the top of the nation's social policy agenda in the immediate years ahead. Despite the best hopes of those who would like to see the nation deal effectively with "the problem of the color line,"disturbing inequalities continue to exist between blacks and other in the American economy. The nation has not yet found the way to obliterate such inequalities in American life and some developments observed during the 1970's have raised questions about the nation's will to do so.

After viewing the information developed above, the only reasonable conclusion that one can reach on the eve of a new decade is the same that might have been expressed a decade ago, namely, special efforts directed toward blacks in the American work force will be necessary if the gap in employment and income is ever to be narrowed and eventually erased. Despite comforting hopes to the contrary, there is no process at work within American society that will lead inexorably to a steady and continuing improvement in the relative economic status of the black community.

The nation is now faced with a legacy of racism and discrimination that was consciously developed over many years. The effect of that legacy will be minimized only through conscious, determined efforts that recognize race as a separate and distinct determinant of the domain of opportunity for millions of Americans. Making race an irrelevant factor in the determination of employment and earning opportunities is a task that may be as difficult during the next decade as it has been in every decade in the recent past. The challenge is great but the responsibility is clear; the only certainty is that the struggle for economic equality will go on.

Table 1

Employment Status of Blacks, 1970 and 1979 1/

Employment Status	Nov. 1979	1970
	(Number in thousands)	
Civilian Labor Force	12,392	9,197
Participation Rate	61.6	63.0
Employed	11,057	8,445
Employment-population ratio	54.9	60.3
Unemployed	1,335	752
Unemployment Rate	10.8	8.2
Not in Labor Force	7,736	5,686

1/ Annual Average 1970 and seasonally adjusted, Nov. 1979

2/ Civilian employment as a percent of the civilian non institutional population (excludes Armed Forces)

Table 2

Total and EEOC-Reported Employment: 1966 and 1974

OCCUPATION	1966						1974					
	Total Employment[1]			EEOC-Reported Employment[2]			Total Employment			EEOC-Reported Employment		
	Total	Black		Total	Black		Total	Black		Total	Black	
	Number	Number	% of Total	Number	Number	% of Total	Number	Number	% of Total	Number	Number	% of Total
Total Employment	67,325	6,487	9.6	25,573	2,087	8.2	81,660	8,588	10.5	31,603	3,484	11.6
White Collar	33,068	1,644	5.0	10,997	278	2.5	41,739	2,977	7.1	14,668	868	5.9
Prof. & Technical	9,310	551	5.9	2,834	68	5.3	12,338	970	7.9	3,833	180	10.5
Professional	—	—	—	1,693	22	1.3	—	—	—	2,387	73	3.1
Technical	—	—	—	1,141	46	4.0	—	—	—	1,446	107	7.4
Managers & Officials	7,405	207	2.8	2,084	17	0.8	8,941	379	4.2	3,127	88	2.8
Sales Workers	4,541	138	3.0	1,802	43	2.4	5,417	214	4.0	2,714	149	5.5
Clerical Workers	11,812	748	6.3	4,277	150	3.5	15,043	1,414	9.4	4,994	451	9.0
Blue Collar	26,950	3,300	12.2	12,615	1,357	10.8	29,776	3,748	12.6	14,515	2,043	14.1
Craftsmen	9,589	600	6.3	3,630	132	3.7	11,477	874	7.6	4,227	293	6.9
Operatives	13,829	1,782	12.9	6,507	701	10.8	13,919	2,041	14.7	7,413	1,165	15.7
Laborers	3,532	918	26.0	2,478	524	21.1	4,380	833	19.0	2,875	585	20.3
Service Workers	7,308	1,544	21.1	1,961	452	23.0	10,145	1,863	18.4	2,420	573	23.7

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[1] Excluding private household and farm workers.

[2] Reported to U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by firms with 100 or more employees.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Manpower Report of the President, April, 1975, Tables A-15, p. 225; A-16, p. 227, and G-10, p. 347.

Footnotes

[1] Robert B. Hill, Widening Economic Gap (Washington, National Urban League, 1979).

[2] Robert B. Hill, The Illusion of Black Progress (Washington, National Urban League, 1978).

[3] William J. Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). Also Charles V. Willie, The Caste and Class Controversy (New York General Hall, Inc., 1979)

[4] The labor force participation rate is the proportion of persons employed or unemployed among all persons aged 16 or older within a specific age/sex/race group.

[5] See Phyliss A. Wallace, Black Women in the Labor Market (Lexington, Mass.; D. C. Health, forthcoming). See also Julianne Malveaux "Shifts in the Employment Status of Blacks", Rockefeller Foundation Working Papers: Bakke, Weber and Affirmative Action, December 1979, pp. 137-170.

[6] See Hill, op. cit., Widening Economic Gap pp. 5-15, for an elaboration of the evidence concerning the widening gap. Additional evidence may also be obtained from U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S. 1790-1978 current Population Reports Special Studies Series p. 23, No. 80 (Washington: GPO, 1979).

[7] Alice Rivlin, Director, Congressional Budget Office, "Address before the Conference on Economic Challenges to Western Nation", December 5, 1979, Washington, D.C.

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BLACK FAMILIES IN THE 1970's

By

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I. INTRODUCTION

The extent of black progress was a dominant -- and controversial -- theme throughout the 1970's. Early in the decade, in fact, some commentators declared that blacks had made such "enormous" economic progress that over half of all black families were now in the middle-class.[1] Other analysts asserted that the "extraordinary" progress of blacks suggested "a virtual collapse of traditional discriminatory patterns in the labor market."[2] And still others argued that the economic gap between blacks and whites had narrowed to such an extent that class or economic background is now a more significant determinant of black life chances than race.[3] Important segments of the news media regularly reinforced this belief in the "significant" economic progress of blacks through numerous highly-publicized feature stories on the "new" and "rapidly growing" black middle-class.[4]

However, at the same time that the "enormous" economic progress of black families was being trumpeted across this nation, the news media and many commentators were decrying the "deterioration" of black families based on their belief in a steadily increasing welfare-dependent "underclass." The sharp increase in the number of black families headed by women during the 1970's was widely interpreted as the major contributor to the burgeoning black underclass.[5] The soaring unemployment rates of black youth (at a time when joblessness among white youth was declining) was the focus of many feature stories and research studies throughout the decade. Many analysts viewed chronically unemployed black youth as part of a "permanent" underclass.[6]

Which belief is correct? Did black families make "enormous" progress over the past decade? Or did black families significantly retrogress? Did they do both -- or neither? And what is the outlook for black families during the 1980's? We will now attempt to determine the factual basis for these beliefs by carefully examining the actual economic and social trends among black families during the '70's and assessing their implications for black families over the next decade.

II. THE ILLUSION OF BLACK PROGRESS

However, in order to properly assess the nature and degree of mobility among black families during the 1970's, it is essential that policymakers, media analysts, researchers and the general public are made aware of common pitfalls in research strategies and analyses that have contributed to the "illusion of black progress."[7]

In fact, because of the widespread acceptance of popular misconceptions about the extent of black progress, many whites have been increasingly resistant to efforts toward racial equality in the areas of education, employment, housing and economic security. Since they do not believe that significant racial barriers currently exist, many whites feel that equal opportunity has already been achieved and there is no need for special efforts on behalf of blacks and other minorities. Thus, increasing numbers of whites are charging "reverse discrimination" and are strongly resisting the use of their tax dollars for social programs on behalf of the poor and minorities. And, most significantly, growing numbers of legislators at the federal, state and local levels are supporting severe cutbacks in expenditures for jobs programs, social services, housing subsidies and other economic supports because they believe that unemployment has been significantly reduced and that blacks and other minorities have made significant economic and social progress. For example, despite spiraling inflation and persistently high unemployment, many respected newspapers and legislators are opposed to an increase in food stamp expenditures because they believe that poverty has been virtually abolished in America![8]

Thus, the controversy about the extent of black mobility over the past decade is not merely of academic importance. On the contrary, widespread acceptance of "the illusion of black progress" is having major political and economic consequences for the well-being of blacks and other low-income groups in this nation.

Three of the research strategies that have contributed to popular misconceptions about the extent of black progress have been:

(a) Focusing on the 1960's rather than the 1970's.

(b) Failure to assess the impact of periodic recessions.

(c) Focusing on individual rather than family mobility.[9]

A. FOCUSING ON THE 1960's

A major reason for different conclusions about the extent of black progress is the use of data from different time periods. Most of the studies heralding a significant improvement in the economic situation of blacks are based on data from the 1960's rather than the 1970's. There is no question but that blacks made significant social and economic gains during the '60's -- especially during the latter half of that decade.

During the second half of the '60's, blacks made major social and economic advances in employment, income, education, voter registration, home ownership, election to public office and in the reduction of blacks in poverty.[10] For example, between 1963 and 1969, the unemployment rate for blacks plummeted from 10.8% to 6.4%, bringing the number of jobless blacks down from 864,000 to 570,000 -- its lowest level in modern times. At about the same time (from 1964 to 1969), the ratio of black-to-white family income narrowed from 54% to 61% -- the smallest gap between black and white families since racial income data were first collected by the Census Bureau. Similarly, by 1969, the number of black families below the official poverty level (1,366,000) declined to its lowest level in recent times.

Thus, the statistical evidence is unmistakable -- black families did make very significant economic progress during the 1960's. But what happened to these advances during the 1970's? This brings us to the second deficiency in many research analyses of black progress -- the failure to systematically assess the impact of periodic recessions on black mobility.

B. OMISSION OF IMPACT OF RECESSIONS

It is surprising to note that the impact of recessions is just as likely to be omitted from research studies of black progress by economists as well as from research by sociologists and other social scientists. In reading most studies of black progress or black family "deterioration" over the past 30 years, one would never know that this nation had experienced a succession of at least six recessions (1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-71, 1974-75, and 1979-present).

Each of these recessions, however, disproportionately undermined the social and economic gains of blacks. Before blacks had a chance to recover from one recession they were subjected to another. As the Census Bureau's comprehensive overview of black progress from 1790 to 1978 revealed, economic recessions historically eroded black advancement:

> The Great Depression substantially diminished some of the gains (by blacks) made in the first three decades of the 20th Century. For example, during the 1930's, the growth of the black labor force was severely curtailed...
>
> The Census Bureau began collecting income information by race on a continuous basis in 1947. Since then, there has been overall moderate income growth for black families, interrupted by several recessions. From 1947 to 1969...the most pronounced upgrading (36% increase) in the income levels for blacks occurred during the period of 1964 to 1969. Increases were noted during the 1947-53 and 1959-64 periods; however, little or no progress was made during the period from 1953 to 1959 as a result of the 1953-54 and 1957-58 recessions.[11]

Consequently, an adequate assessment of the extent of black progress during the 1970's must incorporate a systematic analysis of the impact of two recessions (1969-71 and 1974-75) -- in all of their "last hired, first fired" implications -- on black family structure, functioning and mobility.

At the same time that blacks were disproportionately affected by periodic economic recession, they were also disproportionately subjected to soaring inflation. According to classical economic theory, it is impossible to have high levels of inflation and recession simultaneously. But, apparently, no one has informed the American economy of this "fact." On the contrary, while the total number of unemployed persons in this nation jumped by 82% (from 4.3 to 7.8 million) between 1973 and 1975, the cost of living soared by 21%. And by the end of the decade, two-digit inflation had become virtually a fixture of this economy. Thus, proper analyses of black progress must assess the disproportionate impact of inflation as well as of recessions on black families.

C. FOCUSING ON INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY

A third practice of the proponents of "significant" black progress is to focus on the economic advancement of black individuals rather than of black families. This has been most evident in several studies highlighting dramatic economic gains of black women relative to white women and, to a lesser extent, of black men relative to white men. Without question, analysis of the economic gains of black and white individuals is clearly a legitimate and important area of investigation.

However, such studies go beyond legitimate bounds when the mobility of individuals is erroneously used as a proxy for inferring the mobility of family units. For example, most studies of occupational mobility in the U.S. have been invariably based on data confined to men. The exclusion of white women from mobility studies may have had some historical justification, since the overwhelming majority of white families in the past had only one-earner -- a male. But black families always have had a strong two-earners tradition. And black women have continually comprised about half of the total black labor force. Thus, studies of the occupational and earnings mobility of black men alone are unreliable and invalid indicators of the actual extent of economic mobility in the total black community.

Moreover, since the surge of white women in the labor force has transformed the majority of white families into two-earner households, there is no longer any reasonable justification in using the economic mobility of white males as the sole proxy for the mobility of white families. Furthermore, studies focusing on male mobility over-estimate the actual extent of economic mobility in the U.S., since the occupational and earnings mobility of women invariably lags far behind that of men.

It is also erroneous to infer that because the earnings gap between black and white individuals may have narrowed, that there has been a similar narrowing of the gap between the incomes of black and white families. Individual mobility is not necessarily translated into family mobility. In short, if one wants to make generalizations about the progress of families, then family households and not individuals should be used as the unit of analysis.

III. EMPLOYMENT TRENDS OF THE '70's

A. Unemployment Patterns

We will now examine the employment patterns of black family heads during the 1970's. The number of unemployed black family heads almost tripled (from 122,000 to 343,000) between 1969 and 1978, while their unemployment rate more than doubled (from 3.5% to 8.3%). Although unemployment among white family heads also rose over the decade because of two recessions, the increase was not as great as it was among black families. While the number of jobless white heads of families almost doubled (from 631,000 to 1,457,000), their jobless rate went up from only 1.7% to 3.6%. Thus, the jobless gap between black and white families widened from 2.1 to 2.3 -- one of the largest gaps of the decade.

Families headed by black women were, apparently, one of the most severely impacted groups by the two recessions, since they experienced the largest increase in joblessness among family heads over the decade. In 1969, only 38,000 or 5.6% of all black women in the labor force heading families were unemployed, but by 1978, five times as many (195,000) black women family heads were jobless, with their unemployment rate soaring to an alarming high of 15.4%. At the same time, unemployment among black men heading families doubled (from 84,000 to 148,000), raising their jobless rate from 2.9% to 5.2%. On the other hand, the jobless rate for white female family heads rose from 3.6% to 6.6% between 1969 and 1978, while the unemployment rate for white male family heads only went from 1.5% to 3.5%.

B. Employment Patterns

However, although unemployment among black families rose sharply over the past decade, the number of black family heads with jobs also increased. The total number of employed black family heads increased 4% (from 3.4 to 3.7 million) between 1969 and 1978. Interestingly, all of this increase in employment occurred among black female heads of families, since employment declined among black male family heads over the decade! While the number of black female family heads with jobs jumped by 68% (from 637,000 to 1,069,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of black male family heads with jobs fell by 3% (from 2,766,000 to 2,698,000).

These opposing patterns of employment were largely due to the fact that the proportion of black families headed by women sharply increased from 29% to 39% over the decade, with a concomitant decline in the proportion of black families headed by men. But these patterns also reflect the greater surge of women in the labor force during the 1970's. This can be seen in the similarity of the employment patterns among white families. While the number of employed white male family heads remained virtually unchanged (at 35.3 million) between 1969 and 1978, the number of white female family heads with jobs soared by 61% (from 2.0 to 3.2 million). There was also a sharp increase in the proportion (from 9% to 12%) of white families headed by women over the decade.

C. Occupational Patterns

To what extent was the increase in employment in black families reflected in upward mobility in jobs? There was indeed an increase in the proportion of black family heads in higher-paying and higher-status jobs -- among both males and females. In 1970, the proportion of all black family heads in higher-paying jobs, such as managers (2%), professionals (8%) and craft (9%), was 19%.

By 1978, the proportion of black family heads in those jobs (managers - 4%; professionals - 10%; and craft - 9%) rose to 23%. Among black female family heads, the proportion in higher-paying jobs rose from 14% to 17%, while the proportion of black male family heads holding higher-paying jobs went from 24% to 28%.

There was also some increase in the proportion (from 16% to 19%) of black family heads in moderate-paying clerical (14% to 17%) and sales (remaining at 2%) between 1970 and 1978, But almost all of this increase occurred among families headed by black women (from 24% to 30%), since the proportion of black male family heads in clerical and sales jobs remained the same (at 10%).

However, despite some increase in the proportion of black family heads in higher-paying jobs over the past decade, the overwhelming majority of black family heads today are in lower-paying blue-collar jobs. In fact, the proprotion of black family heads in lower-paying jobs (i.e., operatives, laborers, service and farm workers) declined from only 64% to 59% between 1970 and 1978.

Many recent studies purporting to show a sharp increase in the proportion of black families in the "middle-class" have committed the common fallacy of equating white collar jobs with "middle-class" and most blue-collar jobs with "working class" or "underclass." Consequently, movement of individuals from blue-collar to white-collar jobs is most often characterized as upward economic mobility into the middle-class.

But the major error in placing all holders of white-collar jobs in the economic middle-class is that only a small minority of black white-collar workers have "middle-income" earnings. Only 30% of all black managers and 26% of all black professionals in 1977 earned $15,000 or more a year, for example, compared to only 11% of all black sales workers and 3% of black clerical workers at such levels.

At the same time, these analysts fail to point out that even larger proportions of blacks holding white-collar jobs make poverty-level wages. For example, 67% of all black sales workers and 42% of all black clerical workers had annual earnings under $6,000 in 1977. Similarly, 25% of all black professionals and 29% of all black managers had poverty-level earnings. In other words, there are just as many povery-level workers among black professionals as there are (one-fourth) middle-income workers. Thus, one is no more justified in characterizing all black professional workers as "middle-income" as one would be in describing all of them as "low-income."

Moreover, movement from blue-collar jobs to white-collar jobs should not be arbitrarily assumed to be upward mobility, since many blue-collar jobs have higher earnings than many white-collar occupations. For example, the proportion of black workers earning $15,000 or more in 1977 was twice as high among craftworkers (22%) than among sales workers (11%). And the proportion of middle-income earners among black operatives (10%) was just as high as that among sales workers and three times higher than among clerical workers (3%).

In short, many studies reporting a recent "surge" of blacks in the economic middle-class -- as a result of a sharp increase of blacks in white-collar occupations -- greatly exaggerate black upward mobility because they erroneously include the movement of blacks into low-income white-collar occupations as well. To more accurately assess the extent of black upward economic mobility, such studies should restrict themselves to the movement of blacks into jobs with middle-income earnings -- whether white-collar or blue-collar. Therefore, we will now examine a more accurate indicator of economic mobility -- income and poverty trends.

IV. INCOME AND POVERTY TRENDS OF THE '70's

A. Income Gap

The widening unemployment gap between black and white families during the 1970's led, as might be expected, to a widening of their income gap. In 1969, black families had a median income ($6,063) that was 61% of white family median income ($9,958). By 1978, the ratio of black family income ($10,879) to white family income ($18,368) had declined to 59%. This widening income gap occurred in all regions, except the South. While the black-to-white family income ratio remained at 57% in the South between 1969 and 1978, the gap widened in the Northeast (from 67% to 62%), the Northcentral region (from 76% to 72% and especially in the West (from 75% to 57%).

Between 1969 and 1977, the income gap between black and white families fell from 61% to 57%. Thus, it was only between 1977 and 1978 that there was some narrowing of this gap (from 57% to 59%). Yet, as was noted, the income gap by 1978 was still wider than what it was at the beginning of the decade.

This decline of black family income relative to white family income is in part due to the sharp increase in multiple earners among white families during the 1970's, and the sharp decline in multiple earners in black families. Historically, black families had a higher proportion of two-earners than white families. But, between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of black families with two or more earners fell steeply from 56% to 47%, while the proportion of white families with two or more earners rose from 54% to 57%. Thus, today, there are more two-earner white than black families.

B. Impact of Inflation

What impact did inflation have on black family income during the 1970's? Black families were disproportionately affected by the spiraling inflation of the '70's. While real white family income (adjusted for inflation in 1978 dollars) rose by 4% between between 1969 and 1978, real income among black families barely kept up with inflation -- rising by only 1%.

Most of the gains in real income among black -- and white -- families occurred in families headed by men. While real income among families headed by black women fell behind inflation by 3%, real income among families headed by black men rose sharply by 22%. Similarly, although real income among families headed by white women declined by 1%, real income in families headed by white men rose by 5%.[12]

A major reason why the income in families headed by men was able to keep up with inflation was the sharp increase in working wives among both blacks and whites. While the proportion of working wives in black husband-wife families rose from 53% to 60% between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of working wives in white husband-wife families jumped from 38% to 47%. In fact, the presence of a working wife is becoming essential for black and white families in order to achieve or maintain an economically "middle-class" standard of living.

C. The Black Middle-Class

How did the black middle-class fare during the 1970's? To what extent, in fact, was there a surge in the size of the black middle-class?

Before we can answer these questions, however, we must have a definition of "middle-class" that can be subjected to statistical measurement. Unfortunately, most of the controversy around this subject has involved vague references to various categories of blacks such as "bourgeoisie," "structurally unemployed," or "underclass" without specifying the nature and size of such groupings. One can hardly document the significant advancement of blacks in the middle-class if that group is ambiguously defined — or not defined at all.[13]

As noted above, the most widely-used operational definition of "middle-class" is to include all persons holding white-collar jobs. But, as was pointed out, such a definition includes large numbers of white-collar workers with poverty-level wages. Movement into higher-status jobs, such as professionals, sales, managers, etc., does not necessarily mean movement into higher-paying jobs. Consequently, we contend that movement into a higher paying job — whether white-collar or blue-collar -- should be used as the basic criterion for assessing upward economic mobility.

Therefore, we recommend the use of the economic criteria provided by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) three standards of living for families: higher, intermediate and lower. Each year BLS prepares -- and adjusts for inflation -- budget costs for "typical" urban families of four at three different standards of living. The estimated food consumption costs for families at the "lower" budget level, for example, are based largely on the Agriculture Department's emergency food plan for poor families, which the Department concedes does not provide nutritionally adequate diets for three-fourths of the families at that level. The intermediate or moderate budget level, however, more closely approximates the standard of living of the "average" American family. Therefore, the National Urban League Research Department regularly classifies all families with incomes above the BLS intermediate level as "middle-income" or "economically middle-class."

In 1969, 24% of all black families had incomes above the BLS intermediate budget level of $10,064, while 25% of all black families had incomes above the BLS intermediate level of $18,699 in 1978. Thus, the proportion of black middle-income families (adjusted for the impact of inflation) remained relatively unchanged at one-fourth. Similarly, among whites, the proportion of middle-income families remained unchanged (at 49%) over the decade.

However, there was some increase in the proportion of upper-income black families by the end of the decade. Between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of black families above the higher BLS levels (of $14,574 in 1969 and $22,420 in 1978) rose from 9% to 12%. But this "rise" masks the fact that 12% of black families had incomes above the higher BLS level in 1972 and 1973 -- before the onset of the devastating 1974-75 recession. Since that time, the proportion of upper-income black families steadily declined to 9% by 1977. In other words, all of this increase in the proportion of upper-income black families really occurred over a one-year period (between 1977 and 1978) at the end of the decade. Since a new recession began in 1979 and is expected to worsen in 1980, it is very likely that there may be some shrinking of the proportion of middle-income and upper-income black families at the beginning of the decade of the '80's.

D. Poverty Trends

At the same time that blacks are said to be surging into the middle-class, the proponents of significant black progress also contend that there is a growing -- and permanent -- black underclass. In order to account for these divergent trends among blacks, the theory of two black societies has emerged and received widespread media acceptance. According to this notion, at the same time that the economic gap between blacks and whites is narrowing, the cleavage between the black middle-class and underclass is widening. Has the number of low-income black families increased or decreased during the 1970's? And to what extent is there statistical evidence to support this theory of a widening economic cleavage in the black community?

Unfortunately, it has not been easy to verify the validity of the notion of a growing black underclass because of the failure of many analysts to clearly define the composition and size of this "underclass." Since there is at least consensus that poverty-level and welfare families are part of this grouping, we shall examine those patterns among low-income black families.[14]

Black Underclass

There was indeed a sharp increase in the number of poor black families during the 1970's, while the number of poor white families went down. While the number of poor white families declined by 2% (from 3,575,000 to 3,523,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of poor black families rose by 19% (from 1,366,000 to 1,622,000). However, since the total number of black families increased just as fast, the proportion of all black families that are poor remained unchanged (at 28%) throughout the decade. On the other hand, the proportion of poor white families declined from 8% to 7% between 1969 and 1978.

Because of the sharp rise in the number of black families headed by women, they accounted for all of the increase in the number of poor black families over the decade. While the number of poor black families headed by men fell by 34% (from 629,000 to 414,000) between 1969 and 1978, the number of poor black families headed by women soared by 64% (from 737,000 to 1,208,000). However, because the total number of black families grew faster than the number of poor black families, the proportion of poor black families headed by women went down from 53% to 51%, as did the proportion (from 18% to 12% of poor black families headed by men.

In short, if one uses the number of poor families as an indicator, there is strong evidence to support the assertion that the number of black families in the underclass has significantly grown over the past decade. However, using the proportion of poor families as the base, one would have to conclude that the percent of underclass black families remained unchanged throughout the '70's. This latter conclusion also lends support to the notion of a permanent -- and unchanging -- underclass among blacks.

To what extent do welfare trends among black families correspond to these poverty patterns? There was indeed some increase in the proportion of black families receiving public assistance during the decade. Between 1969 and 1977, the proportion of all black families receiving welfare rose from 18% to 23%. While the proportion of male-headed black families receiving public assistance declined from 10% to 7%, the proportion of female-headed black families on welfare increased from 38% to 46%.

It should be noted, however, that these data strongly contradict the popular belief that the majority of black families are dependent on public assistance. Despite two devastating recessions during the 1970's less than one-fourth of all black families -- and less than one-half of all black families headed by women -- were on public assistance by the end of the decade.

On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of both male and female-headed black families depend on earnings and not welfare as their primary source of income. By 1977, 91% of male-headed black families and 68% of female-headed black families relied on earnings income. Unfortunately, this was a decline from the beginning of the decade when 93% of male-headed black families and 73% of female-headed black families depended on their earnings.

Many analysts attribute the increasing poverty among blacks to the rise in the number of black families headed by women. This assertion is only partly true. A more accurate explanation for the rise in poverty is the increase in the number of black families headed by unemployed women. Black families headed by women are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain meaningful employment. In fact, as was noted earlier, black women heading families are three times more likely to be unemployed today (15.4%) than they were (5.6%) at the beginning of this decade.

The disproportionate poverty status of families headed by black women is primarily related to their unemployment status. Only 27% of employed black women heading families were poor in 1977, compared to 75% of unemployed black women heading families. Thus, the chances of black women family heads being poor continue to be only one out of four when they have jobs, but their chances of being poor are three out of four when they are unable to obtain work. Thus, there is a vital need for intensive governmental efforts to provide female family heads with meaningful job opportunities in order to prevent thousands of families from falling into poverty.

In sum, there is strong evidence to support the view that the number of low-income or "underclass" black families has increased over the past decade, while the proportion of low-income black families has remained relatively unchanged. However, since the proportion of middle-income black families remained virtually unchanged during the '70's, there does not appear to be strong evidence for the notion of a widening economic cleavage in the black community.

V. SOCIAL TRENDS AMONG BLACK FAMILIES

The heightened economic insecurity from two recessions and record-level inflation had some important consequences for the functioning and stability of both black and white families in America. One of the most visible manifestations has been the rise in the number of one-parent families due to divorce and separation. Between 1969 and 1978, the total number of divorces in the U.S. almost doubled (from 639,000 to 1,128,000).

A. Single Parent Families

Contrary to popular belief, families headed by divorced or separated women increased faster among whites than blacks. The number of families headed by divorced or separated women increased twice as fast among whites (by 121%) between 1969 and 1978 than among blacks (by 65%).

Moreover, while the number of families headed by widowed white women declined by 3% between 1969 and 1978, the number of families headed by widowed black women rose by 15%. But, most significantly, the increase in families headed by single women was five times greater among blacks (257%) than whites (57%).

A disproportionate amount of the increase in single parent families was due to a sharp increase in out-of-wedlock births among both black and white young women over the decade. While the number of out-of-wedlock births by black women increased by 49% between 1969 and 1977, the number of out-of-wedlock births by white women rose by 35%.

It should be noted, however, that because of overall declining fertility rates of all women, the total number of live births to white women declined by 10% between 1969 and 1977, while the total number of live births to black women remained about the same (at 543,000) over that period of time. In other words, the number of out-of-wedlock births among both black and white women grew at a much faster rather than the number of in-wedlock live births. This is why in several cities, such as Washington, D.C. and Chicago, over half of the total births of black women are out-of-wedlock.

The increase in out-of-wedlock births is greatest and most severe among teenagers. While the illegitimacy rate among black women 15-19 years old rose from 90.6 to 93.3 for every 1,000 unmarried black women in this age group between 1969 and 1977, the illegitimacy rate among white women 15-19 years old increased ten times as fast, from 10.0 to 13.6 for every 1,000 unmarried white women in this age group. Nevertheless, the illegitimacy rate among black teenagers is still more than six times greater than the rate among white teenagers.

Moreover, contrary to popular belief, the overall illegitimacy rate has been steadily declining among black women, while steadily increasing among white women of child-bearing age. While the illegitimacy rate among black women fell by 7% (from 90.6 to 84.5 per 1,000 unmarried black women of child-bearing age) between 1969 and 1977, the illegitimacy rate among white women rose by 2% (from 12.5 to 13.7 per 1,000 unmarried white women of child-bearing age). But, once again, it should be noted that the overall illegitimacy rate for black women is still six times greater than it is for white women.

The sharp increase in unwed teenage mothers among both blacks and whites clearly indicates a vital need for more intensive family planning efforts as well as preventive sex education programs. One of the concerns about the increase in out-of-wedlock births to young mothers is the extent to which such families become habitually dependent on public assistance.

Contrary to the popular belief that black families that receive welfare remain on public assistance, black women heading families are less likely to receive welfare the older they are. Less than half of black families headed by women under 25 are on public assistance, compared to about one-fifth of black families headed by women 55 years and over. Most significantly, black teenage mothers are least likely to be on welfare. Since the overwhelming majority (85%) of them live in extended family households, they often have to move away from relatives in order to qualify for many social services. Such insensitive and anti-family policies should be modified in order to reinforce and strengthen the informal self-help supports to teenage mothers provided by relatives.

B. Family Strengths

A proper overview of black families during the 1970's must examine their strengths as well as their weaknesses. In 1971, the National Urban League Research Department issued a monograph entitled The Strengths of Black Families. That report focused on five positive attributes that characterized the majority of low-income as well as middle-income families: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, flexibility of family roles, strong achievement orientation and strong religious orientation. These five factors have continued to be major determinants of stability and advancement among low-income and middle-income black families during the 1970's.[15]

Strong Kinship Bonds

Perhaps the most influential factor over the past decade has been the black extended family. Relatives provided many forms of mutual assistance during the hard economic times of the '70's. This was reflected in the sharp increase in "doubling-up" or the moving in of female-headed families into the households of relatives during the 1974-75 recession. Between 1973 and 1975, the proportion of black children living with their mothers in the households of relatives jumped from 30% to 39%.

According to conventional wisdom, the extended family is supposed to have virtually disappeared from the American scene. Not only has this family form not become extinct among black families, but there was a strong revival of the black extended family during the 1970's. While there has been a sharp decline in the number of black families from different generations living in the same households, the vital support provided by relatives living in different households has not diminished.

For example, the proportion of black children informally adopted or absorbed into the households of grandparents, aunts and uncles, and sisters and brothers increased between 1970 and 1978 from 13% to 15%. Thus, there are about 1.4 million black children living in extended family arrangements today. And this does not include the millions of black children who reside for shorter periods of time with relatives who provide low-cost day care services for parents who are working, temporarily ill or institutionalized.

Moreover, as the NUL study, Informal Adoption Among Black Families (1977) pointed out, by providing informal day care, foster care and adoption services, black extended families have been instrumental in enhancing the social and economic well-being of thousands of black families. For example, many teenage mothers would not have been able to finish their schooling -- and many older single parents would not have been able to work -- had it not been for the concern and support of relatives.[16]

Furthermore, during a decade when child abuse has been rising sharply among white families, the extended family network appears to be reducing its impact in the black community. Since low-income and minority families are over-represented in official statistics on abused and neglected children, it is widely-believed that black children are more likely to be abused than white children. But systematic studies of child abuse have revealed that child abuse is more likely to occur in white families than in black families living in similar or worse economic circumstances. The extended family serves as a buffer against child abuse, since a potentially neglected or abused child is often removed to a more wholesome environment. However, child abuse is more likely to occur in families that are isolated from relatives. Thus, the child abuse and neglect in the black community during the '70's was lower than would have been expected on the basis of its greater economic deprivation because of the extended family.[17]

It is important to note, however, that the black extended family has never been restricted to blood relatives. It has always included "fictive kin" or close friends who perform such roles as "granny," "auntie," or even "mother" or "father" more effectively than natural kin. Such fictive kin increasingly belong to black extended family networks in urban and northern communities where families may live far distances from relatives. Furthermore, scholars such as Harriet McAdoo have clearly shown that extended families not only enhance the functioning of low-income black families, but middle-income families as well.[18]

Work Orientation

Despite two recessions and spiraling inflation, the work commitment of black heads of families did not decline over the past decade. The sharp rise in female-headed black families, for example, is commonly believed to be due to an increase in women who are not looking for work. But the fact is that these women are more work-oriented: the proportion of black female family heads in the labor force rose sharply from 51% to 56% between 1969 and 1978. Or, conversely, the proportion of black female heads not working and not looking for work dropped from 49% to 44%.

In addition, the American public still does not fully realize that welfare is the last resort, and not the first, for the overwhelming majority of black families. This is why over three-fourths (77%) of all black families and over half (54%) of all black families headed by women today do not receive any public assistance. Moreover, contrary to popular belief, half (45%) of all poor black families are not on welfare! Very little interest has been shown in determining why over 700,000 black families that are economically eligible for welfare do not receive any public assistance. Some of these poor families, as noted earlier, are being unjustly denied vital social services because they live in extended family households. But closer observation reveals that the strong self-reliance of many of these poor families cause them to receive economic support from relatives and friends rather than from public welfare agencies.

But there was one subgroup in black families that experienced an extraordinary amount of job discouragement during the 1970's -- black youth. The persistent unavailability of jobs forced many black youth who want employment to give up actively seeking it. Thus, there was a marked decline of black young men in the civilian labor force (i.e., either working or actively looking for work). Between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of black men, 18-19 years old, in the labor force declined from 63% to 60%, while the labor force participation rates of black men, 20-24 years old, fell more sharply from 84% to 78%. At the same time, the participation rates rose among white men, 18-19 (from 66% to 73%) and among white men, 20-24 (from 83% to 87%).

Some commentators contend that the persistent high unemployment levels among black youth are primarily due to educational deficiencies. But research studies consistently refute the notion that lack of education is the primary factor, since job opportunities are greater for white youth with lower educational attainment. White high school dropouts have lower unemployment rates

(16.7%) than black youth with some college education (21.4%) and about the same jobless rates (16.5%) as black college graduates.[19]

Role Flexibility

All American families experienced greater flexibility and interchanging of roles during the 1970's: mothers assuming some of the traditional roles of fathers; fathers performing some of the traditional functions of mothers; and children performing parental functions. This increased role flexibility and adaptability was most evident in the growth of families headed by women who were the primary breadwinners of their households.

Traditionally, families headed by women have been characterized as "broken," "disorganized" or "pathological." In fact, statistics related to female-headed families are often simplistically used as "proof" of the "disintegration" of black families. But it is erroneous and unwarranted to prejudge the functioning or cohesion of a family solely on the basis of the number of heads of households.

On the contrary, many research studies have revealed that: (a) two parents do not make a family intact any more than having one parent makes it "broken," and (b) that many one-parent families are more intact than many two-parent families. These findings are reinforced by the fact that children are running away faster from "intact" two-parent families in the suburbs than "broken" one-parent families in the inner-cities. Furthermore, there must be some lack of cohesion in many two-parent families, since about one-third of them end in divorce or separation. Thus, the cohesion of a family is determined by the quality and intensity of the relationships among family members and not by whether or not a father is present in the home. Because families are headed by female breadwinners is no justification for presuming their inability to function effectively.

On the other hand, there appears to have been some diminution in the traditional equalitarian sharing of roles in black families as blacks have moved up the educational and economic ladders. The enhanced occupational role of black women has led to greater tension in male/female relationships, especially among the middle-class. Many higher-educated black women observe that many black men are resistant to adopting equalitarian role patterns. As a result, there was a sharp increase during this decade in conferences, workshops and publications designed to enhance the sensitivity of black men and women toward one another.

Achievement Orientation

The strong achievement orientation in black families was evident in the sharp increase in high school graduation and college enrollment among black youth during the '70's. As the proportion of high school dropouts among black youth, 18-24 years old, dropped from 33% to 25% between 1970 and 1978, the proportion of black youth graduating from high school rose from 44% to 48%.

Moreover, while only 35% of the black high school graduates in 1970 went on to college, 42% of them went on to college by 1978. Thus, the proportion of black 18-24 years old in college rose from 15% to 20% between 1970 and 1978. However, among white high school graduates, there was a decline in the proportion going to college (from 50% to 45%) between 1970 and 1978. Thus, black high school graduates are just as likely as white high school graduates to go on to college today.

This strong achievement orientation of black youth is just as prevalent among those coming from one-parent families as it is among those coming from two-parent families. Contrary to patterns among white youth, research studies have consistently found that black youth from one-parent families are just as likely to go to college as youth from two-parent families. These findings provide further evidence against the popular presumption of the negative functioning of families headed by women.[20]

Religious Orientation

Since a religious orientation or perspective is not readily amenable to quantitative measurement, it is not possible for us to be precise about its influence on black families over the past decade.

Nevertheless, it appears that the black church continues to play a major role in black communities across the nation. Each Sunday it continues to attract the largest number of blacks at one time. In some communities, cutbacks in funds for social services and community action agencies have led many black churches to assume their historical role as a key provider of social, psychological and economic support to black families.

Moreover, the black ministry continues to be in the vanguard of the struggle on behalf of blacks: Rev. Benjamin Hocks, Executive Director of NAACP; Rev. Jesse Jackson, President of Operation PUSH; Rev. Joseph Lowery, President of SCLC; Rev. Leon Sullivan, Chairman of OIC, etc. However, this leadership is increasingly being shared with growing numbers of black elected officials.

Overall, it appears that the religious factor has continued to exert the same influence on blacks it has for decades.

VI. SUMMARY

Some of the highlights of our analysis of the economic and social trends among black families during the 1970's are summarized as follows:

1. The strong economic gains of black families during the 1960's were eroded by two recessions, record-level inflation and the "benign neglect" policies of the Nixon-Ford Administrations.

2. The unemployment and income gaps between black and white families widened during the '70's. While the unemployment gap between black and white heads of families widened from 2.1 to 2.3 between 1969 and 1978, the ratio of black to white family income fell from 61% to 59%.

3. Families headed by black women were one of the most severely impacted groups over the past decade. Five times as many black women family heads were jobless in 1978 (195,000) than in 1969 (38,000), with their jobless rate soaring from 5.6% to 15.4%.

4. Many studies reporting a recent "surge" of blacks in the economic middle-class -- as a result of a sharp increase of blacks in white-collar occupations -- greatly exaggerate black upward mobility because they erroneously include the movement of blacks into low-income white-collar occupations as well.

5. The proportion of economically middle-class black families did not significantly increase during the '70's, but remained relatively unchanged. One-fourth of all black families had incomes above the Labor Department's intermediate levels in 1978 and 1969.

6. There is some support for the notion of a growing -- and persistent -- "underclass" among black families. While the number of poor families among blacks increased by 19% between 1969 and 1978, the proportion of poor black families remained at 28%.

7. But we found no support for the belief in a widening economic cleavage in the black community, since there was no increase in the proportion of middle-class or low-income black families.

8. Black extended families continued to provide vital services in such areas as day care, foster care, adoption and preventive child abuse to one-parent and two-parent families as well as to middle-income and low-income black families.

9. Black families continue to be characterized by five strengths: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, flexibility of family roles, strong achievement orientation and strong religious orientation.

VII. FORECASTS FOR THE 1980's

What is the outlook for black families over the next decade? Based on our analysis of past and current trends, we offer the following forecasts:

1. Since the current recession is predicted to worsen in 1980, it is very likely that there will be at least two recessions during the '80's. Such recurring recessions will undoubtedly mean a continuation of disproportionate high levels of unemployment among black workers.

2. Slow job expansion can be expected to generate increased competition for jobs from such emerging groups as white women, Hispanics and Asians. Between 1974-77, blacks obtained only 5% of the new jobs in private industry, while over half (53%) went to white women, 26% went to white men and 12% went of Hispanics.

3. The number of blacks in higher-paying and higher-status jobs such as managers, professionals and craft should reach all-time highs over the next decade. But the continuing soaring inflation is expected to erode the living standards of many middle-income as well as low-income families.

4. The proportion of black families headed by women will continue to increase, but their adaptability and capacity to function effectively will be significantly enhanced.

5. Extended families will continue to play influential roles in providing vital social and economic support to middle-income and low-income black families.

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FOOTNOTES

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EDUCATION: A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN

By

Bernard C. Watson

I. AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE: EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

Education for black Americans continues to be a matter of grave concern. It is a matter of concern because of the mixed and contradictory statistics which often serve to confuse and obfuscate rather than inform. Most analyses and accompanying assessments of the state of education for black Americans depend upon statistical date; aggregations such as enrollment, participation and graduation in elementary, secondary and higher education, and disaggregations such as field of study, type and location of institution of matriculation and relationships between economic status and schooling. But education is more than the recording of numbers. In many respects, education determines how we live. One cannot deny that statistics and analyses are necessary and important, but because numbers tell only part of the story, they are not sufficient for a broad and comprehensive assessment of the state of education for black Americans.

Develcping broader conceptions of education is difficult. Among the difficulties is the problem of definition. Education is too often defined narrowly. What is most often meant by education is schooling; that which goes on in formal institutions called schools--elementary, secondary, colleges and universities. As a result, assessments of progress of regression are made in terms of rates of participation in, progress through, and graduation from such institutions. But education, more broadly conceived, is far more comprehensive. It is a lifelong process that is highly correlated with indices of well-being. Education, using the more expansive definition, includes institutions not directly concerned with schooling; for example, the media, families, religious institutions, voluntary organizations, governments, both national and international, as well as a host of other structures.

Understanding the difference between schooling and education is crucial because of the interdependency of society at all levels. For example, it is significant that the 1979 Nobel Prize in Economics awarded to Sir Arthur Lewis along with Theodore Schultz, was in the area of poverty economics which links economics with human development. One cannot separate economic and political issues and concerns from schooling and education. Each has a dramatic impact on the other and, for black Americans, the interdependency is more pronounced. When the O.P.E.C. (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations raise the price of petroleum, the economic impact on all Americans is immediate and personal; for poor and black Americans it is immediate, personal and devastating. This single act has implications not only for government spending and personal finances, but also for taxes, cost of housing, food, and support for public institutions, not the least of which are schools. But the interrelationships are not obvious because each of the educative structures and organizations in our society has its own goals, objectives and processes, which are not necessarily compatible or complimentary. In fact, they are often contradictory. A case in point, Bell Telephone's advertisement on national television admonished the listener to "Kick the letter writing habit--use the telephone." Clearly such a message has far-reaching implications because it legitimized not using a skill--writing.

Education Not Isolated

Education should not be viewed in isolation from human development nor should schooling be separated from the educative process. In assessing the state of education for Black America, one must therefore look not only at years of schooling, participation and graduation rates, but must also assess the quality of program, curriculum and human interaction because human development incorporates not only the cognitive and objective elements, but the affective, human and caring elements as well.

For Americans in general and for black Americans in particular, education must be an active catalyst for the attainment of equality--the product of educational opportunity, and for equity--the process and quality of being fair and impartial. But, because conceptions of what constitutes equality and equity vary, there is a need to develop shared conceptions. Shared conceptions can be attained through the guidance of what is just and what are the basic claims of mankind. Properly conceived, education can become a mechanism for both understanding and activating shared conceptions of what constitutes human rights. In addition, education can help us identify and clarify the linkages between social, political and economic systems. As Derek Bok said:[1]

> If education is to have lasting value, the curriculum must also be built around the mastery of intellectual skills and methods of inquiry that are sufficiently fundamental to serve students in a wide variety of contexts.

And as Dubois said:[2]

> The object of education is not to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men.

II. TOWARDS A REDEFINITION

Using this conception of education enables us to underline the fact that the way problems are defined will in large measure determine the way those problems are approached or solved. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point. Support for public education has declined during the past decade. Although individuals may disagree about the magnitude of the decline, it is clear that there has been a decline. But the reasons for the decline are complex. Many believe the decline in public support is due to problems caused by busing; others attribute the decline to a lack of discipline in schools and the increase in violence and vandalism. Still others attribute the decline to poor student performance and a continuing decline in academic standards. All of these reasons probably play a part in the declining level of support for public schools, but so does the fact that the economy is in dire straits. Taxes have increased, and because of inflation, many people can no longer afford to pay increasing proportions of their income for property taxes when the essentials of life--food, shelter and clothing--compete for limited funds. In addition, growing numbers of middle-income tax payers, who can afford to pay, are opposed to increased taxes because they believe that their tax dollars are being allocated to programs and people who "are given too much, don't work and don't deserve" their hard-earned tax dollars. But since much of public education's support comes from the property tax, there has been a resulting decline in financial support for public schools. Yet, much of the public's discontent has centered on schools.

But schools alone are not responsible for the decline in the economy, rampant inflation, increasing unemployment, or the increases in violence and vandalism in schools or society. Students are not solely responsible for the decline in academic performance, the increasing costs of teacher and administrative salaries and fringe benefits, or the court decisions which mandate busing as legal remedy for past illegal segregation. Nonetheless, the public frequently supports solutions which "blame the victim:" Proposition #13, rejection of school bond issues; or, respond to symptoms: minimum competency tests administered at the end of the 12th year of schooling, demands for teacher accountability, and the assignment of police to schools. Nowhere in these solutions are there demands for accountability in the business sector, realignment of funding priorities in the allocation of tax resources, creation of more jobs for youth, better housing, more effective control and prevention of crime, violence and vandalism in neighborhoods or even accountability of school boards and elected officials. Yet all play a part in the development of effective solutions to the increasing problems of schooling. If the economic, political and social structures of our society are linked and thereby contribute to the problems, it seems equally true that each sector must contribute to the solutions. Any approach which does not incorporate this understanding will be doomed to failure because the problem has been poorly or inappropriately defined.

III. THE PAST DECADE: AN OVERVIEW - ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

For black Americans, school enrollments show a steady improvement in the rates of participation. The same can be said with regard to median years of school completed.

School Enrollment (3 - 34 Years)
Percent Change 1970-1978

	White	Black
Nursery	63	75.3
Kindergarten	- 9.4	5.9
Elementary	-17.9	-10.5
High School	1.4	24.1
College	26.0	95.4

Source: U.S. Census, Population Profile of the U.S.: 1978, No. 336, April, 1979, p.20.

Median Years of School Complete (25 and over)

	1970	1975
Blacks	9.8	10.9
Whites	12.1	12.4

Source: U.S. Census, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S.: An Historical View, 1790-1978, Series P-23, No. 80, p. 93.

The charts presented above show progress, but when one looks only at those of school age, the progress has been even more significant. Analyses of black enrollment in nursery, kindergarten, junior high and high schools over the past decade show that by 1977, black enrollment in nursery and kindergarten exceeded 35% of those eligible while white enrollment, traditionally below blacks, was slightly more than 31% of those eligible. Based upon available figures, the gap between black and white pre-school enrollment had been narrowed to something in the neighborhood of 3%, due in large measure of the increased availability of pre-school programs in public school systems throughout the country, but due primarily to provisions for these programs in many southern states.

Increased high school enrollment by black teenagers, coupled with higher retention rates, has resulted in increased educational attainment as measured by number of years of schooling completed. High school enrollment rates for whites increased 3.9%, while the comparable rate for blacks was 23.1%.[3] Moreover, between 1970-1976 the percentage of increase of students graduating from high school was significantly higher for blacks than for whites. By 1976, 80% of black Americans, 16-17 years of age were enrolled in school compared to 89.1% of whites in the same age group. Drop-out rates show comparable improvement; the rate for whites was 8.4% compared to 9.5% for blacks.[4]

These figures are not without their darker side, however. During this same decade, 22% of black youth ages 18-19 were still attending high school compared to 8% of white youth. Twenty-five percent of black youth in this age group do not complete high school compared to only 15% of white youth.[5] Obviously, these figures affect college enrollment for black Americans and, as we shall see later, the gap between white and black college attendance is much wider than that for elementary and secondary schools.

Imbalance In Public Schools

There is more. Although black Americans constitute approximately 11% of the total population of this country, they are over-represented in the public schools. Black enrollment in private schools is highest for students from families with incomes exceeding $15,000. With the exception of the western region of the United States where both white and black enrollment in private schools is low, there are substantial differences in private school attendance, and white enrollment far exceeds that of blacks.

It seems obvious that, for most black Americans, public schools remain the most viable if not the only option for participation in elementary and secondary education.

As in previous years, enrollments in urban public school systems continue to become overwhelmingly institutions for blacks, the poor and other minorities. This underscores the fact that in 1980 school finance issues will again surface as one of the most important policy issues for black Americans. Cities continue their tendency to spend a smaller proportion of their total budget on education than do their suburban counterparts. Throughout the latter years of this decade, Milwaukee, Denver, Boston and, Kansas City, Missouri, for example, spent somewhat less than their suburban counterparts on education, but at least twice as much on non-educational functions.

A. Funding: Public Education

State aid to education is popularly thought to be intended to equalize school expenditures and tax burdens for education. State aid, however, is typically not sufficient to overcome local disparities in spending for education. The result is high taxes and low expenditures for poor school districts, which tend to have high or majority-black student enrollment, while lower taxes and better financed schools characterize wealthier districts which tend to have majority-white, middle-class enrollments.

The funding of public education has traditionally operated to provide the children of the affluent with a better quality of education than the children of the poor. That state of affairs continues in 1979.

More than 30 years ago Havighurst and Loeb observed:[6]

> The American School...reflects the socio-economic order in everything that it does; in what it teaches, who does the teaching, who does the hiring and firing of teachers, and what the children learn in and out of the classroom...The curricula of the secondary schools provide early pathways to success and failure, they operate in a different way on the several class levels, and they are used In a different way by the children of the higher and lower levels.

More recent recently, a number of researchers have documented the relationship between students' socio-economic status and the amount of school resources made available to them:[7]

> There is empirical evidence that school districts allocate substantially fewer dollars to schools in poor and black neighborhoods, indeed, within-district disparities may be as significant as disparities in a given state.

Discrimination against black and other minority children in the allocation of educational resources continues. The Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law recently completed a study of the underfunding of majority-black school districts in the South and found that resource disparities between majority-white and majority-black districts have grown considerably since desegregation:[8]

> In many majority-black districts which lost large numbers of white students to private segregation academies, public officials have been unwilling to levy local property taxes adequate to support the public schools at a level equal to that provided in comparable districts serving predominately-white student bodies. In addition to low tax effort, majority-black districts also tend to be poor in property wealth and personal income. Low effort and low wealth reinforce each other to maximize inequalities between majority-black and majority-white districts.

Black and other minority children who attend schools in large urban areas are receiving diminished educational programs as their districts are faced with huge budget deficits. These deficits occur despite school finance reforms in a number of states precisely because those reforms have ignored the unique fiscal and educational problems of the cities.

B. The Quality of Education

Having noted, in general terms, the progress black Americans have made in years of education completed, the more important question of quality must be discussed. Blacks and other minorities are concentrated in public schools located in the cities and urban areas of this country and these are precisely the areas beset with major problems, among which finance is one. But we must also confront the fact that the education too many children receive in these classrooms is nothing short of a national scandal, an absolute disgrace. In too many schools achievement levels are three, four, even five years below the average nationwide. High school graduates are unable to read, write or perform mathematical functions at the sixth or eighth grade level. Many are unable to perform simple, everyday tasks such as completing an application for employment or writing a simple, coherent paragraph. Truancy is epidemic, psychological or physical dropping-out commonplace. Add to this the fact that many of the corridors, bathrooms and school yards are actually dangerous for both teachers and students. Costs soar, so school board after school board is forced to eliminate such "frills" as music, art, physical education, library services and, in some cases, kindergarten. The quality of programs and the performance of students decline.

One is tempted to argue that the most significant, perhaps the most important, innovation which could be installed in many public schools in this country would be programs and teaching strategies which provide all students with basic literacy! The effect of such an innovation on employment, self-confidence and stability in human relationships would be immeasurable. In the cities, such an innovation might begin to restore public confidence in public education, something which has diminished significantly as school systems have become increasingly non-white.

But the attainment of quality education is made more difficult for black Americans because of outmoded yet persistent negative perceptions of their ability to learn. Over the last decade an entire lexicon of phrases and terms have been created which explain why learning and excellence are beyond the reach of blacks, the poor and other minority youngsters. Terms such as "culture of poverty,""culturally deprived," "deficit model," "deferred gratification," "inappropriate role models," "psychology of the streets," "welfare dependency," "maternal dominance" and a host of others inherently "blame the victim" and give credence to excuses for not teaching. Now comes "black English," a term legitimized by the court's decision in *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children, et al vs. Ann Arbor School District*. In the Memorandum Opinion and Order issued by U.S. District Court Judge Charles W. Joiner, it was noted that the testimony from each of the children indicated that "their speech in court was highly intelligible and contained only traces of "black English," In addition, the evidence presented indicated that there was no conclusive evidence that the teachers were subjecting the black students to inferior teaching, were denying them special assistance, placing them in inferior facilities or intentionally causing psychological barriers to learning.

Judge Defines Steps

Nonetheless, Judge Joiner concluded that "the unconscious but evident attitude of teachers toward the home language (black English) causes a psychological barrier to learning by the students which...impeded their (plaintiffs) equal participation in the instructional programs, and that the school has not taken appropriate action to overcome the barrier."

Judge Joiner ordered the Ann Arbor School District to define the exact steps it will take to: "1) help teachers at M.L. King to identify children who use "black English," and 2) use the pursuant knowledge to teach students standard English." This case, while limited to 11 students, gives further support to the stereotypical beliefs that black students learning must be treated as "remedial."

Here we go again; another way is found to prove that black youngsters can't learn as well as other students. The psychological and sociological mumbo jumbo directed at black students continues. Teachers, and judges, accept this foolishness and become pop psychologists and sociologists instead of teachers and jurists. Students find another excuse for not buckling down to the difficult but important task of learning their native language which will enable them to move through the academic maze. Parents find another reason for their children not learning to read. Black Americans are again percieved as somehow different than their white counterparts. The beat goes on, ad infinitum, ad nauseam. What a waste.

The approach taken in King vs. Ann Arbor need not be the model. One could consider, for example, the excellence that black children with backgrounds comparable to King students have attained at Westside Preparatory School in Chicago. Marva Collins, head teacher/principal believes and demands that the children age four to 13 think and learn. Children described as learning disabled, disruptive, and deprived are now proficient readers of Baldwin, Carroll, Chaucer, and Shakespeare. They speak standard English because it is demanded and expected.

It is time, it seems to me, for black Americans to be reminded that employment tests and others best known by initials such as SAT's, ACT's, MCAT's, LSAT's and GRE's, are screening devices which act as barriers and keep many blacks out of colleges, under- and unemployed, and out of graduate and professional schools. All of these screening devices utilize standard English, not black English. Bar, medical, police, fire, and apprenticeship examinations are written in standard English. Whatever the shortcomings of the various written screening devices employed in our society--and there are many--they all require a fundamental knowledge of standard English, our native language. And that is a fact.

Black parents, leaders, ministers, educators and all people concerned with achieving equality of educational opportunity need to begin to carry out their educative functions by stating that excuses for failing to teach black youngsters are no longer acceptable, whether the excuses are cloaked in psychological or sociological jargon or whether they are patently and openly racist mouthings. Young blacks must be made to understand that learning is important, that it is not always easy or pleasant, that it is sometimes very difficult and boring, but important and necessary. Black children and youth can learn. When the first schools were established for blacks, the first question was, "Can the Negro learn?" Edward A. Johnson, a black historian and writer, in his book, A School History of the Negro Race in America From 1619-1890, answered that question.[9]

> He has answered this question satisfactorily to the most incredulous in every instance where brought to a test. The fact that every slave state had laws against his being taught before the war, and that they opposed it afterwards, ought to be a sufficient answer. But if this is not sufficient, let's speak the deeds of Professor Scarborough of Macon, Georgia, author of a series of Greek textbooks which has been adopted at Yale; George W. Williams, author of "History of the American Negro;" Joseph T. Wilson, author of "Black Phalanx;" C.G. Morgan, class orator at Harvard 1890, and a host of others.

Black children can achieve and adults must remind them that "getting over" and finding ways of avoiding difficult task of learning is not hip and is not cool.

Reminder to Educators

Educators need to be reminded that their primary responsibility is not to become pop sociologists and psychologists endlessly detailing and dissecting the biological, social, economic and political forces that inhibit the maximum development of human potential among poor and minority youngsters. Their primary responsibility is to educate young people, to inspire them, to rekindle hope in the face of massive adversity and to demand of young people what they are capable of achieving.

The preoccupation of too many educators with labeling continues to result in a permanent caste-position for black youth. Labeling is a convenient way to deal with youth, but such an approach too often tracks youngsters in lower-level, dead-end curricula which over time does not reflect appropriate changes in their performance. In fact, once placed in a remedial or general curriculum, the student rarely has an opportunity to move to another curriculum which offers greater career options. The stagnant approach labeling engenders leads to the "permanent placement" of black youngsters in less demending programs and courses. Often these are industrial arts or vocational training programs which too frequently result in preparing black youngsters for jobs that will either not exist when the training program is over or are dead-end jobs.

For blacks, labeling and the accompanying perceptions of many whites is pervasive. A recent national longitudinal study[10] revealed a gap in perceptions between blacks and whites. The study indicated that 33% of black high school seniors reported that they were in college preparatory programs, compared to 40% of whites. Yet school administrators recorded only 27% of blacks in college preparatory programs while confirming the 49% of whites reported in such programs. This problem is also reflected in data from first-time freshmen enrolled in college preparatory courses: 95% of whites were enrolled compared to 78% of blacks. This lower rate for blacks is mirrored in a 1974 Office of Civil Rights report which found that 51% of all students enrolled in special education programs were black. Fortunately such figures are bringing about a new scrutiny of the totality of special education programs. Recently, U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham ruled that standard tests used to place students in special education programs could not be used because such tests resulted in a disproportionate number of blacks in such programs.

These examples of the darker side of the state of black Americans in education remind us that one must be careful in interpreting statistics and assessing progress. We must look beyoung the numbers. As the old saying goes, blacks have come a long way, but they still have a long way to go.

B. Higher Education

During the past decade, black Americans have continued their march toward equality by increasing their participation in higher education. The number and percentage of black Americans enrolled in institutions of higher education have increased significantly. Such increases began about 1967 and have continued during the past decade. Total black enrollment in higher education surpassed one million in 1976 and this represented a more than 100% increase from 1970 levels. Blacks represented 9.3% of the total higher education enrollment compared to their 11.5%

representation in the total population. In the South, black enrollment approached 426,000 students In 1976--a 15.1% share of total enrollment. Moreover, since 1970, black enrollment in the South has grown at double the rate of white enrollment.[11]

According to the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, increased enrollments have been dramatic.. During the decade 1966-1976 college enrollment increased from 5% to 11%, and by 1975 8% of all students enrolled in the senior year of college were black.[12] Obviously,the fortunes of black Americans seeking higher education have improved dramatically; only a fool or a charlatan would deny that there has been progress.

These figures provide a good overview of black participation rates in higher education in the United States. What the figures fail to do, however, is provide the broader social context in which these increase must be viewed. To view the total enrollment gains in isolation from the quality of participation and the end product--college graduation--is at best simplistic and at worst, dangerous. For example, in the fall of 1972 black students comprised 8.4% of the full-time undergraduate enrollment in the United States; four years later only 6.4% of the baccalaureate degrees were conferred on black students. Moreover, it is evident that the rates of access, participation and graduation decline as the level of education rises.

While black Americans represented 10.2% of the undergraduate enrollment in the fall of 1976, the black percentage in graduate schools was only 6%. Enrollment in professional schools was only 4.5%. In the same year, only 3.5% of the doctorates were awarded to black Americans and, even at the lower level, only 8.4% of the associate and less than baccalaureate degrees were awarded to blacks.

Caution Urged

Fall 1976 data support caution in viewing gross figures of participation. Consider these items:[13]

- While the level of undergraduate enrollment of black Americans reflects their numbers in the population, black students are severely underrepresented in higher degree levels. Blacks constituted 4.5% of the total first-year professional enrollment and 6% of the graduate enrollment. In the South, the figures were 5.4% and 10.1% respectively.
- At all levels, black Americans are still under-represented in certain fields. In 1976 blacks represented 2.1% of enrollment in agriculture and natural resources; 4.5% in architecture and environmental design; 6.6% in biological sciences; 5% in engineering; 2.0% in veterinary medicine; and 4.3% in physical sciences. Blacks represented 4.0% of the enrollment in dentistry; 5.9% in medicine; and 4.5% in law.
- Approximately 42% of all black students enrolled at all levels of higher eduation were in two year community co-leges compared with about one-third of all white students enrolled.
- Forty-five percent of all black undergraduates were in two year colleges as were 55% of all black first-time freshman.
- Fifteen percent of all black students in higher education were enrolled at the university level compared with 25% of all students.
- Of the approximately 400,000 black students enrolled in four year, post secondary degree granting institutions, 50% or more than 200,000 were attending one of the 107 historically black colleges or universities. The other 50% were attending predominately white colleges and universities throughout the United States.

Even a perfunctory analysis of these data indicates the need for caution. What clearly emerges is a picture of black Americans attending institutions of higher education in increasing numbers, but continuing to enroll in traditional fields, many of which offer poor prospects for employment and career advancement over the next several decades. The data clearly indicate what is often said "in the streets" by black Americans: "Black folks ain't got enough of nothing." Blacks are still under-represented in the traditional fields of medicine, dentistry and law. Despite the furor over affirmative action, special admissions and preferential treatment, they still have a Long way to go to achieve anything approaching parity in all fields of higher education.

C. Characteristics of Black Students[14]

The characteristics of black student enrollment differ in significant ways from white student enrollment. The overwhelming majority of black students come from families whose estimated yearly income is less than $10,000. In 1974, 68% of the freshmen in historically black colleges came from such families; only 8.5% came from families whose estimated parental income exceeded $20,000. Census data also indicate that the source of income for most black students is from loans, scholarships and governmental programs (BEOG,SEOG, Social Security, etc.). White students, on the other hand, received much of their support from personal savings, parental contributions and earnings. The implications are obvious: without substantial financial aid from sources other than the family, black students would enjoy severely limited opportunities for participation in higher education.

It is precisely because of the severe economic limitations imposed upon most black families that many black students tend to enroll in two year community and junior colleges. The tuition and fees are moderate compated to most four year institutions and students can live at home while they pursue their education. The economic factors associated with access to higher education also accounts for the continued high black enrollment in historically black institutions of higher education. In addition to their other qualities and attractiveness, tuition, fees and housing cost tend to be less than those at predominately white institutions.

Economic considerations also affect the degree of success achieved by students in colleges and universities. The drop-out rate is affected by financial aid policies. The figures for 1974 indicate that students who recieve financial aid have a lower drop-out rate than those who do not recieve financial aid. For white Americans receiving financial aid the drop-out rate was 20.9%; white students who did not receive financial aid the rate was 29%. For Black Americans receiving financial aid the drop-out rate was 24.4%; blacks receiving no aid dropped out at the rate of 46.2%.[15]

Disparities are Obvious

When one considers the relationship between college attendance and family income, the disparities are obvious. Among persons 18-24 years of age from families with incomes exceeding $20,000 the white enrollment rate was 41%, the black enrollment rate was 31.1%. For those coming from families with incomes under $10,000 the white enrollment rate was 20.2%; the black enrollment rate was 16.1%. These data, it seems to me clearly indicate the relationship between family income and access to higher education. The higher the family income, the greater the probability the children will attend institutions of higher education. Because the number and the percentage of black Americans who are poor is disproportionate when compared to the white population, access to higher education for the children of black families is severely limited by economic factors alone. The fact that blacks have pursued higher education opportunities so fervently despite economic obstacles is a testament to their motivation and to their belief in the value of higher education. This, of course, flies in the face of the myth that blacks do not value education as much as whites.

Blacks clearly value higher education opportunities. They have made significant progress, as the data below from 1975-76 indicate, but such progress must again be placed in an oppropriate context:

- Black enrollment in undergraduate education is approaching the black percentage in the general population.
- At the graduate level, blacks are more likely than the average student to be enrolled part-time, suggesting the necessity to combine study with more often than other students.
- of the 65,000 black graduate students, 53.4% were in their first year of graduate study.
- Nineteen percent of black students pursuing professional programs were in the historically black colleges.
- At the doctorate level, more than three times as many degrees were conferred to non-resident aliens (4,068) than to black Americans (1,213). For master's degrees, conferred by institutions other than the historically black colleges, foreigners received the same proportion of the total as did black Americans.
- Higher education institutions in 29 states conferred more Master's degrees to non-resident aliens than to black Americans.
- In Alabama, all of the veterinary medicine degrees degrees awarded to blacks in 1975-1976 came from Tuskegee Institute.
- In the District of Columbia, 92% of the dentistry and 84% of the medical degrees awarded to blacks were conferred by Howard University.

- Texas Southern University granted two-thirds of all law degrees awarded to blacks in Texas. North Carolina Central conferred 71% of the law degrees awarded to blacks in North Carolina.
- Meharry Medical College conferred 96% of the dentistry and 92% of the medical degrees conferred to blacks in Tennessee.

These figures suggest a bifurcation of higher education opportunities for black Americans. Although the number and percentage of blacks enrolled in higher education has increased dramatically, the historically black colleges and universities still award a disproportionate percentage of the degrees earned by blacks. THis suggests that, although blacks are enrolling in increased numbers in institutions of higher education, the historically black colleges and universities continue to award a significant, perhaps a disproportionate, percentage of baccalaureate, graduate and professional degrees to black Americans. It suggests that perhaps the opening door is still a revolving door, providing access, but not degrees to thousands of black Americans. It is still a fact that most physicians, dentists, lawyers and veterinarians who are black received their degrees from predominately black institutions.

IV. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

One of the most significant developments during the past year was the creation of a new U.S. Department of Education. The establishment of this Department eliminates the present four 'chief' federal education officers: the HEW Secretary, the HEW Assistant Secretary for Education, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, and the Director of the National Institute on Education. The new Department replaces them with just one person, the Secretary of Education. The President's appointment of Judge Shirley M. Hufstedler, an outstanding federal judge, and a non-educator, as the new Secretary has been discussed from different perspectives by many people. More important than the designation of a Secretary, however, are other concerns.

Education plays a virtual life and death role in the lives of blacks and other minorities, and it is for this reason that the challenges facing the new Department are enormous. The new Department must consolidate more than 150 federal agencies and programs that have been operating in six different departments: HEW; Justice: Defense; HUD; Labor; and Agriculture. To operate such a Department requires not only a competent, but an inspiring leader. One must be at once an excellent administrator, an asset to the President's re-election campaign, and an individual committed to public education, who does not offend too many of the warring factions. The Department leadership must make the pieces work better than they did as separate entities. In addition, the leadership of the Department must reduce and untangle red tape, develop political clout in the Congress and the White House and become a strong, vigorous advocate of the importance of education to the well-being of the United States.

In order to accomplish these goals, it is imperative that the transition from the old structure to the new be carried out with dispatch and efficiency. The first six months are crucial. The role of the Office of Civil Rights must be clear and O.C.R. must pursue its activities with vigor and consistency. More importantly, the Department, through its key leadership, must have a strong commitment to equal educational opportunity, must be accessible to all of the constituency groups including minorities and the poor, and must carry out its activities with superb management skills.

To achieve these goals is a monumental task and how well they are achieved will be of great significance to black Americans, the poor, and other minorities for whom education is a beacon. It seems apparent, therefore, that immediate evidence of a commitment to equal educational opportunity would be the appointment of minority persons, including blacks, to senior positions in the new Department of Education. Black Americans will watch with great interest the staffing and initial activities of the United States' newest Cabinet-level office -- the Department of Education.

V. THE EDUCATIVE ROLE OF BLACK AMERICA

This paper began with a discussion of the distinction between education and schooling. It continued with a discussion of the linkages between economic, political and social structures of our society and their impact on education and schooling. There is abundant evidence of the relationship between education and income, education and employment, education and occupational status, family income and scores on standardized tests.

The difficult question confronting black and white Americans is: What do the statistics mean; what do they tell us? Has the condition of blacks improved as a result of the dramatic gains in elementary, secondary and higher education? The answers are ambiguous and depend upon your perspective.

Professor William Wilson, a sociologist from the University of Chicago, argues that there are now two classes of black Americans: the well-educated, affluent middle-class who are doing well because of the new non-discriminatory job market, and the uneducated poor who suffer hardships which are largely unrelated to race. According to Wilson, poor blacks have, unfortunately, been born at the wrong time when the economy is slowing down, factories are moving to the suburbs and becoming automated, and the low-unskilled job market is disappearing. Wilson also asserts that black civil rights leaders have a vested interest in continuing to focus on race as the primary issue when economic class is the dominant factor in determing job placement for blacks.

Others, among them Dorothy Newman and Charles Willie, take strong exception to Wilson's thesis and argue that race is still more important than economic class for blacks. Richard DeLone argues that ability, early childhood training and education will not provide equal opportunity unless the society provides equality in the work place, in distribution of wealth and income, and in the ability to know and make choices throughout life. DeLone argues that class, race and sex are the three most important factors in determining the future of an American child. Others argue that full employment policies, with the government as the employer of last resort, will make the most dramatic impact on the condition of black Americans. The question, however, is not whether class or race is a more important determinant of "well-being" because for the vast majority of blacks, there is no viable separation of class and race.

Struggle Must Continue

Each of these arguments has some basis in fact, but are fundamentally flawed and limited. Whatever one's perspective, the fact is that black Americans must continue to struggle in every area: education, employment, housing, politics and for improved access to all of the good things in this society. That struggle cannot be continued to the ultimate victory of true equality without an educated and informed leadership, nor can it be carried to a successful conclusion without an educated and informed black population.

Arguments about two classes of blacks are ultimately self-defeating and only serve to give credence to arguments and strategies designed to divide blacks in their continuing struggle to achieve equality. Blacks have never been an undifferentiated mass with the same ideas, philosophy, values and belief systems. But all black Americans have been the victims of discrimination, prejudice,limited opportunities and oppression. In this respect, at least, blacks are very much alike. More important, the so-called educated, affluent black has been the recipient and the beneficiary of the struggles and victories of masses of black people. The dismantling of blatant segregation in public accommodations, passage of civil rights and voting rights and voting rights laws, equal opportunity legislation and executive orders, affirmative action requirements and other public policy developments came about as a result of organized mass actions--political, social and economic. They were not accomplished solely by the educated affluent, so-called black elite, but instead by the unity of all classes of blacks.

A common history and current conditions link black Americans together. It is this reality which contradicts Professor Wilson's assertion that elite blacks and leaders of civil rights organizations have a vested interest in promoting race as an issue. Race is an issue in this country and it needs no promoting by the so-called black elite. Racism is alive and well in the United States and if anyone bothers to talk to the average black, or to the "black elite," they would be reminded of this reality. It is not the only issue, but it is an important one for black and white America.

Race is an issue that the "black elite" faces on predominately white campuses. On most, if not all campuses, there is the perception on the part of many whites that all blacks were admitted to colleges and universities through special programs. If there are more than a token number in medical, dental and law schools, that perception is heightened. Questions continue to surface: Are the "special programs" paying off? "Are we neglecting the good student by giving preference to black and other minority students?" "shouldn't we be spending more money on counseling and helping our regular students? Don't they deserve help, too?" No one is suggesting that these questions and the concerns they represent stem solely from racism, but it is interesting to note that they surface much more often and with greater emotion when there is a significant minority presence on predominately white campuses.

Unfortunately, too many black Americans have adopted this attitude. They fail to see any connection between their presence in good and elitist institutions of higer education and professional schools on the one hand and the struggles of blacks and their allies during the past decade or so on the other. An outstanding legal scholar and federal court judge tells the story of conducting a seminar for a fairly sizeable group of black law students at a prestigious midwestern university. The judge noted not only the lack of understanding of the recent history of blacks in this country, but even more disturbing, the lack of any visible commitment to continuing the struggle for equal opportunity for all black Americans.

A black mayor of a midwestern city tells of speaking to a seminar of black law students in an elitist, private eastern university. The mayor recounts a similar story. Most of the law students believed they were there solely because of their outstanding ability and superior performance at other good universities. When questioned about the fact that there were so many of them now as compared to the one, or two or three years past, they began to question their assumptions about their presence in such numbers. There were, of course, a few sho understood the relationship between recent events and broadened access, but they were in the minority.

Bakke Was A Reminder

There is another side of the story, of course. Most blacks in higher education know that improved access was achieved through struggle. If they had forgotten, the Bakke case and others of a similar nature reminded them. As the economy stuttered and then stalled, blacks who had entered white collar, managerial and professional positions and who now faced layoff and demotion were reminded of the tenuous nature of their affluence. On predominately white college and university campuses, black faculty and staff were reminded of their vulnerability when declining student enrollments forced layoffs, retrenchment, and restrictions on tenure. Fortunately, the majority of black Americans haven't forgotten. They know that the future of all blacks in this country is inextricably linked.

Has the increase in black particpation in higher education affected the lives of black Americans? Yes. And it will continue to do so in expected and in unanticipated ways. Education is and always has been an essential tool in the struggle to liberate mankind. It is no different for black Americans. It is unreasonable to expect that education alone will improve the socio-economic status of blacks in this country. Structural changes in the economic and political life of this country loom large as additional means to the achievement of equality of opportunity. Informed and workable changes in public policy in housing, employment, and health care are essential. What is unmistakably apparent in our history is that nothing is gained without a struggle.

It is because of the foregoing that black America must begin to play a more active role in the education of black Americans. It is not enough for the predominately black institutions of higher education to continue to perform in the excellent manner which has characterized their history. It is not enough for black Americans to demand that the schools do a better job of educating the poor and minorities, particularly blacks. It is not enough that black Americans continue to lobby and push for informed public policies in education, housing, jobs, health care and economic development.

As we begin the decade of the 1980's, black Americans must consider reconstituting the formal and informal structures of education which have played so prominent a role in the history of black America: educational programs for young people in churches, settlement houses and community centers, social clubs, fraternities, sororities, poetry clubs, tutoring centers, cultural and historical centers, civil rights organizations and any other forum that can be developed with the intent to improve the state of education for blacks.

Black Americans must guarantee that young blacks understand the history of struggle. Young blacks must be aware of the fact that opportunities available today were achieved at great cost by older, poorer, brighter, more affluent, more courageous and more committed persons who preceded them. Because black Americans have greater power in their numbers than they do in economic resources, they must realize the necessity for understanding and partipating in all levels of the political process. Because whatever gains have been made came about as a result of mass action and common goals, black youth and young adults must understand the need for unity and cooperative action, even when there is not uniformity in approach or strategy. Because learning occurs in an atmosphere where there are few distractions, black youth must understand that creating and perpetuating a climate of violence and fear among themselves prevents them from learning what they need to know in order to survive: Accepting or participating in the so-called "drug culture" creates and perpetuates a "slave culture" more lasting and dehumanizing than enforced physical slavery. To fail to recognize or understand the implications of this reality is not only self-defeating, but suicidal.

VI. IN SUMMARY

As this decade comes to a close, it is unrealistic for black Americans to expect formal educational structure to educate in the context prescribed in this paper. Formal structures can do a part of the job, but in very important ways, such structures are incapable or unwilling to do the entire job. Black Americans, particularly black youth, are constantly bombarded with information, values, impressions, role models and stereotypes which encourage them to pursue hedonistic, self-centered, uninformed or fraudulent goals. In this process, the most valuable resource in the black community--the brainpower of our youth--is being lulled to sleep at best and wasted or destroyed at worst. Black America cannot continue to permit this to occur. Black Americans must again learn to compete for the minds of their youth and young adults. This cannot be done by preachment alone; young people learn not only by precept, but by performance as well. It will be a difficult task, but it is a task worth the effort. W.E.B. DuBois spoke to this very issue almost fifty years ago:[17]

> To increase abiding satisfaction for the mass of our people someone must sacrifice something of this own happiness. This is a duty only to those who recognize it as a duty. The larger the number ready to sacrifice, the smaller the total sacrifice necessary. No man of education and culture and training, who proposed to face his problem and solve it can hope for entire happiness. It is silly to tell intelligent human beings: be good and you will be happy. The truth is today, be good, be decent, be honorable and self-sacrificing and you will not always be happy. You will often be desperately unhappy. You may even be crucified, dead and buried, and the third day you will be just as dead as the first. But with the death of your happiness may easily come increased happiness and satisfaction and fulfillment for other people--strangers, unborn babes, uncreated worlds. If this is not sufficient incentive, never try it--remains hogs.

Some have agreed that we have ended the second reconstruction, and entered a period of increasing conservatism, privatism and selfishness. Whatever the progress to date, the future is far from rosy; it is fraught with peril. For black Americans in 1980, it should be apparent that the struggle goes on.

TABLE I

U.S. Total Fall Enrollment by Program, Area and Ethnic Background, 1976

	Black	White	Other	% Black
Agriculture and Natural Resources	3,225	141,909	11,386	2.1
Architecture/Environmental Design	3,117	58,260	8,309	4.5
Biological Sciences	21,100	270,915	29,132	6.6
Business/Management	125,367	1,061,755	109,566	9.7
Engineering	22,838	363,504	69,306	5.0
Dentistry	823	18,185	1,485	4.0
Medicine	3,464	51,046	4,085	5.9
Veterinary Medicine	125	5,849	152	2.0
Law	5,441	108,900	6,130	4.5
Physical Sciences	7,036	141,842	16,176	4.3
All Others	842,144	6,857,009	721,355	10.0

Source: James R. Mingle, Black Enrollment in Higher Education: Trends in the Nation and the South (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 29-38

TABLE II

Doctoral Degrees Awarded To Blacks, 1964-1976, United States

Year	Number	Annual % Increase	% of Total Degrees
1964	14,490		2.3
1970	29,866		2.8
1971	32,107	7.5	2.8
1972	33,363	3.9	2.7
1973	34,777	4.2	2.7
1974	33,816	-2.8	2.6
1975	34,083	0.8	2.6
1976	34,064	-0.1	2.6

Source: James R. Mingle, Degree Output in the South, 1975-76: Distribution by Race (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 2.

TABLE III

Master's Degrees Awarded To Blacks, 1964-1976, United States

Year	Annual % Increase	% of Total
1964		16.4
1970		19.6
1971	10.7	20.2
1972	9.2	20.7
1973	4.8	20.7
1974	5.2	21.1
1975	5.6	22.4
1976	6.6	23.4

Source: James R. Mingle, Degree Output in the South, 1975-76: Distribution by Race (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 3.

TABLE IV

First Year U.S. Medical School Enrollments

Year	Number		Percent	
	Black	White	Black	White
1974-75	1,106	12,595	7.5	85.3
1975-76	1,036	13,156	6.8	86.0
1976-77	1,046	13,383	6.7	85.7
1977-78	1,085	13,732	6.7	85.1
1978-79	1,061	14,048	6.4	85.1

Source: "U.S. Medical Student Enrollment, 1974-75 through 1978-79" Datagram.

TABLE V

Total Enrollment - U.S. Law Schools

Year	Number		Percent
	Black	White	Black
1978-79	5,350	121,606	4.39
1977-78	5,305	118,557	4.47
1976-77	5,503	117,451	4.69
1975-76	2,127	116,991	4.38
1974-75	4,995	110,713	4.51

Source: American Bar Association, A Review of Legal Education in the United States, Fall 1978 (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1979) pp. 60, 63.

TABLE VI

1976 Total Black Scientists - United States

	Percent	
	Black	White
Computer Specialists	1.6	96.3
Engineers	0.7	96.7
Mathematical Specialists	3.8	93.2
Life Scientists	1.4	96.2
Physical Scientists	1.6	94.3
Environmental Scientists	0.1	98.1
Psychologists	1.6	97.9
Social Scientists	1.7	96.0

Source: Digest of Educational Statistics 1979 edition (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1977) p. 190.

Footnotes

[1] Derek C. Bok, The President's Report 1976-77 (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1978).

[2] W.E.B. DuBois, "Education and Work," Commencement Address delivered at Howard University Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, January, 1931) Vol IX, No. 5.

[3] U.S. Census, "School Enrollment--Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1975," Series P-20, No. 303 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April, 1977).

[4] U.S. Census, "School Enrollment--Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1976 (Advance Report) Series P-20, No. 309 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1977) Table 6.

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[6] William Lloyd Warren, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, "Who Shall Be Educated?" (New York: Harper and Row, 1944) p. xi.

[7] David Kinp and Mark G. Yudif, "Serrano in the Political Arena?" Yale Review and Law and Social Action, 2, 1971, p. 144.

[8] From Testimony of David Long, Director of School Finance Reform Project Project of the L.C.C.R.L. to the Subcommittee on Elementary/Secondary and Vocational Education of the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor, September 28, 1977.

[9] Edward A. Johnson, A School History of the Negro Race in America from 1619-1890 (Philadelphia: Sherman and Company Printers, 1892) p. 156.

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[11] James R. Mingle, Black Enrollment in Higher Education: Trends in the Nation and the South (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board) p. 1.

[12] U.S. Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 309 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1977) p.1.

[13] *Black Enrollment...*p.1., Table 3; National Advisory Cmt on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, *Access of Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open is the Door?* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January, 1979) p. XIII.

[14] *Access of Black Americans...*passim; *Black Enrollment...*passim; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Federal Agencies and Black Colleges Fiscal Years 1972 and 1973 (Washington, D.C: HEW, 1976) pp. 1-5.

[15] U.S. Census, *Current Population Report*, Series P-20, No. 110.

[16] *Access of Black Americans...*passim; *Black Enrollment...*passim; National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, Higher Education Equity: *The Crises of Appearance Versus Reality* (Washington) p. 3-5.

[17] W. E. B. DuBois, "Education and Work" (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, January, 1931) Vol. IX, No. 5, p. 91.

ENERGY - A NEW DAY

By

Ellis Cose

I. A FORECAST

As we move into the 1980s, it seems distressingly clear that energy will be the sacrificial altar for many of the dreams of Black America. Blacks, who up to now have had very little to do with the shaping of energy policies, are in danger of watching rising energy prices and global energy insecurity reverse hard-won advances up the economic ladder. Such a result would be a belated victory for the foes of social equity.

For those blacks with high incomes and secure jobs, the energy transition will make life harder, though not unbearable -- much as it will for comparably placed whites. Indeed, for some of those very few blacks involved in energy production or conservation, the coming decade will be one of prosperity, But for the great many blacks not so happily situated, the energy transition will be crippling. For that transition -- in the short term at least -- will be jerky and unsettling, and will further disrupt lives already disrupted by earlier energy-induced economic jolts.

The decade we are entering is a decade in which -- largely because of the energy problem -- income for all Americans will grow more slowly than previously imagined, a decade in which blacks will be hard pressed to hold on to many of the tenuous gains of the past -- and in which any new gains will only be made by forging the kind of national commitment that will allow them to reverse a pattern in which blacks disproportionately bear the burdens of America's hard time.

The 1980s will be a decade of adjustments, for both whites and blacks, a decade in which blacks -- more so even than other groups -- will have to learn to apply the lessons of energy efficiency.

It will be a decade when blacks can ill-afford to remain on the sidelines of the energy policy process and allow others to form policies that largely ignore them.

II. IMPLICATIONS

The coming decade, in essence, will see the continued collapse of a set of assumptions about cheap and available energies upon which our society was built -- a collapse that will require blacks to adopt new ways of thinking and reject many myths accepted in the past. As examples:

. The myth that society must consume greatly increased stores of energy if blacks are to advance has no support in fact and is probably the direct opposite of the truth. Accepting it could lead blacks into advocating an energy policy that is not only ill-informed but disastrous.

. The myth that black consumers have no room for conservation could well help to deprive those consumers of one of the few (and most effective) weapons available against rising energy prices. The truth is that blacks have a great deal of room in which to conserve, but that potential is not likely to be realized by a policy that simply raises prices in the expectation that conservation will occur.

. The myth that the energy problem cannot be confronted at the community level is contradicted by efforts in New York, San Bernardino, California and elsewhere that have local people working on conservation and solar energy projects designed to help the poor survive the energy crunch.

The myth that only the federal government can have an effect on energy problems could prevent blacks from putting pressure on important entities, like public utility commissions, that have a direct effect on the percentage of energy costs passed through to the consumer, including those who can least afford it.

The myth that energy policy is somehow a "white" subject and that blacks have a greater stake in such matters as welfare and affirmative action policies could result in policies being enacted that ignore the black community and the special impact that such things as higher energy prices have on that community.

Some of these points will be returned to in the discussion that follows.

III. ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The 1970s will be remembered for many things, Watergate and Discomania among them. But the one thing that towers above all else in that decade is the economic crisis precipitated by the tightening of world oil supplies. For it was in the 1970s, as domestic oil production eased down and imports began to climb, that an OPEC embargo made the world realize that a plentiful commodity had suddenly become scarce, setting the stage for chaos in western economies.

In October of 1973, crude oil was selling for well under $3 a barrel. By late 1979, some analysts expected prices on the spot market to climb as high as $50 a barrel.[1] And as the world economy was just beginning to recover from the OPEC jolts of 1973-74, the combination of a revolution in Iran and a new OPEC determination to recover ground lost to inflation threw the world economy into chaos again.

By any criteria, America was hurt by the 1973-74 OPEC embargo and oil price hike. And blacks, who have always had a special claim on America's pain, were hurt more than most.

An analysis done in 1975 noted:

> By the end of 1974, the depressing effect of higher oil prices had reduced real GNP (1973 prices) by about $35 billion and added one percentage point to the unemployment rate... added 3.5 % to the consumption price deflater and (was) projected eventually to add roughly that much again through wage-price spiral effects.[2]

A more recent U.S. Department of Energy analysis blamed the oil price increases for a $60 billion drop in the GNP.[3]

Though the exact amount of the energy price-caused decline in the GNP is a matter of some dispute, it cannot be disputed that in 1971 the United States imported some 3.9 million barrels of oil for less than $3 a barrel and that in 1979 we imported more than double that amount at an average price of over $16 a barrel, with prices rapidly rising as the year came to a close.[4] What also cannot be disputed is that the oil-fueled recession of the mid-1970s hit black Americans especially hard.

There is little reason to expect this more recent energy related recession to treat black families any more kindly.

IV. BLACKS AND THE RECESSION

Research by the National Urban League has indicated that during the energy-induced recession of the mid-1970s, the real income of black families declined while the real income of white families rose, widening the income gap between blacks and whites.[5] That same study notes that in 1968 the jobless rate of blacks was 2.3 times that of whites.[6]

Black teenagers were especially hard hit by the recession. The number of black teenagers unemployed only rose above 30% once during all of the 1960s. During the 1970s, it has never gone below 30%, and since the embargo, it has hovered around 40%.[7]

For all blacks over 16 the statistics were also bleak. And for that group, as well, the statistics worsened following the embargo. In 1970, black adult unemployment stood at 8.2%. Following the embargo it leaped to nearly twice that.[8]

The dampening of the economy and the subsequent lessening of demand for black labor were not the only effects of the tightening of world oil supplies. The energy problem seems to have accelerated the movement of industries away from the energy-poor northern industrial corridor to the more energy-secure Sunbelt, diminishing employment options for those blacks left behind in decaying urban areas.[9]

At the same time (as analyzed in my Energy and the Urban Crisis), high energy prices do not seem to be creating enough back-to-the-city movement to counteract the negative effects of industries moving out of northern cities.

More harmful even than that, however, is the direct impact of rising energy prices on black pocketbooks. "The long-term energy problem is primarily one of adjusting to rising costs," noted a recent major study.[10] For blacks, especially, that is also a crippling short-term problem.

V. THE ENERGY CONSUMER

A typical Detroit home cost $225 to heat with natural gas in the winter of 1975. By early 1980 that same homeowner can look forward to paying a $542 heating bill -- making gas still much cheaper than either heating oil or electricity. That Detroit homeowner's situation is typical of the nation. The price of all forms of energy is rising, though much faster for some than for others.

A gallon of leaded regular gasoline was selling for an average price of 39 cents a gallon in 1973. As 1979 drew to a close the price, in many areas of the country, hovered around $1.00 a gallon.

The price of heating oil skyrocketed in the winter of 1979-80. The easing of price controls on natural gas caused steep rises in the price of natural gas as well. And though electricity prices rose more slowly than the others, electricity was much more expensive to begin with. Indeed, electricity is inherently expensive since nearly 70% of the available energy is typically lost during electrical generation and transmission.

The chart below, derived primarily from Energy Information Administration data, gives an idea of the price variations during the past few years.

Comparison of Natural Gas, Heating Oil, and delivered electricity costs in usual units and in millions of Btus.*

	Natural Gas		Heating Oil		Electricity	
	$\$/10^3$/cf	$\$/10^6$Btu	\$/gallon	$\$/10^6$Btu	cents/Kwh	$\$/10^6$Btu
1976	1.71	1.67	.40	2.92	3.73	10.93
1977	2.14	2.10	.45	3.29	4.05	11.87
1978	2.42	2.37	.49	3.58	4.31	12.63
1979	2.98	2.92	.55	4.02	4.38	12.83
1980			.88	6.42		

* All costs are in actual dollars. Natural gas and heating oil costs are for January of the given year. Electricity costs are annual averages, except for 1979 which is for the first six months.

Prices for all forms of energy are clearly going up. And the end is not in sight. With domestic crude oil controls due to expire in 1981, home heating oil and gasoline are sure to increase in price. And with world oil supplies expected to remain tight -- partially because OPEC has learned to manipulate the market -- there will be even more upward pressure on petroleum-based fuels, as well as on substitutes for those fuels.

By the mid-1980s -- due to the planned deregulation of natural gas -- this source of energy is expected to cost as much as fuel oil.

The cost of electricity will also not go unaffected in the coming decade. This source of energy is principally generated from coal, oil, gas, uranium, and running water -- with coal as the largest single source, though all of the others contribute a substantial percentage. Oil and gas prices, as already noted, will surely go up. The cost of burning coal will also rise as expensive pollution control devices are increasingly required. The costs of nuclear power will rise as well, due in part to licensing and construction delays resulting from the increased concern about nuclear plants growing out of the accident at Three Mile Island. In sum, electricity prices have no where to go but up.

Indeed, one lesson that the last few months has taught us is that energy prices (and oil prices in particular) are likely to rise much faster and in a much more chaotic fashion than anyone really expected them to.

Sharp Rise in Prices

Shortly after the fall of the Shah of Iran and the shut-down of Iranian production, crude oil prices began to rise sharply on the world market, pushing up the cost of heating oil and gasoline. In January of 1979, leaded gasoline at a full service pump sold for less than 70 cents.[11] Less than a year later, the price had increased by nearly 50%.

During the same period, home heating oil prices in the New England region increased by over 50%.

The effects of rising energy prices, however, are anything but uniform. They vary, for instance, according to what kind of energy one uses and where that energy originates. The northeast, with its high percentage of imported oil, suffers more than the southwest. The effects vary also as a function of climate. Those in the north, with its greater number of cold days, consume considerably more heating oil and natural gas than those in the Sunbelt. At the same time those in the "wide open" west tend to consume larger quantities of gasoline.

The most significant indicator, however, of energy-use variation has less to do with geography than with income. A growing body of research firmly supports the thesis that those who are poor pay a much larger percentage of their income for energy than those who are not, that they spend more per unit of energy than those who are, that they have less flexibility in determining levels of energy use, and that they are forced to waste a considerable percentage of the small amount of energy available to them.

After conducting an in depth survey of poor households in 1975, social scientist Eunice Grier concluded that many of the poor were spending more than one-fifth of their before tax income for energy.[12] The Department of Energy more recently concluded that with decontrol of crude oil many of the poor would spend over 30% of their income directly on energy.[13] The recent price jolts from OPEC insure that the percentage will be much higher.

A Department of Energy spokesman told a Senate Committee in late 1979 that the 1.7 million families living in poverty who heated with oil would spend at least $200 more for heat during the 1979-80 winter than they had during the previous winter.[14] Another estimate concluded that the additional price tag for those with incomes under $5000 a year would be in the neighborhood of $300.[15]

One petroleum industry spokesman praised the Senate for its willingness to pass a $1.6 billion energy aid package in 1979 for low income families but commented, "We feel that $5 billion is the bare minimum necessary to get the program off the ground...The $1.6 billion budgeted for this year is too little too late. But it is better than no program and it will undoubtedly save many, many lives.[16]

The program, it should be noted, was some eight times larger than a similar program already in existence. Even so, it would not reach a substantial number of the poor, notably those not already receiving some form of public assistance -- a consequence of Congress attempting to avoid setting up a new bureaucracy to deal with energy assistance. It is significant, however, that in passing any program at all, Congress for the first time, seriously attempted to grapple with the problems poor people were having with rising energy prices.

Crisis of the Spirit

It is no secret that blacks constitute a much larger percentage of the poor than they do of Americans generally. Out of all white families, 6.9% are at or below the poverty level compared to 27.5% of all black families. That means that nearly 8 million individual blacks were poverty stricken compared to slightly over 16 million whites.[17] The disproportionate effects of energy costs on blacks is obvious -- and disturbing.

The crisis of rising prices, however, is not only a crisis of the pocketbook, but of the spirit. Field research by one organization found a deep sense of frustration among the poor, a feeling that regardless of how hard one worked, rising energy costs and inflation in general would wipe out any gains that were made.

Some of the economic literature postulates that the inequities are not really as serious as they seem, conceding that the poor pay a much larger percentage of their incomes for direct energy purchases but arguing that when indirect energy purchases (embodied energy) are also considered, the percentage is pretty much the same. One thing such studies tend to ignore, however, is that the discretion that can be exercised over many of those embodied-energy purchases cannot be exercised over direct energy purchases. In other words, while a wealthy person can easily forego the purchase of a new yacht or of an expensive aluminum sculpture, a poor person cannot go without heat. In short, if a well-to-do person feels that he is spending too much -- even indirectly -- for energy, he can instead spend his money on items created with less energy-intensive processes. More important, that wealthy person has more money to waste to begin with.

Something that is not often realized, however, is that there is waste among the poor as well -- not of money, but of the precious little energy they manage to obtain.

A. Energy Waste

Drawing from the data in her above-mentioned study, Eunice Grier concluded that poor Americans lived in homes that barely retained enough heat to sustain human life. Some 65% of those homes were uninsulated, nearly half had no temperature controls, and nearly 70% of those with exits leading directly outside did not have storm doors.[19]

Another analysis found that 60% of those with incomes below the poverty level or up to 25% above the poverty level -- over 13 million households -- were renters.[20] They were people who lived largely at the mercy of their landlords, and experienced energy price hikes as increases in rent. Since the landlord could pass energy costs on to the tenant, he had little incentive to insulate, leaving the poor person the option of either insulating someone else's property or shivering through the winter. Obviously, most chose the latter.

The situation seemed so bleak to Grier that she commented, "So low is their energy consumption that it is very doubtful whether poor households have substantial leeway for further conservation without cutting painfully into lifestyles that are already severely constrained."[21]

In one sense that statement is very much correct. The poor, as already noted, have little incentive and few resources with which to insulate their landlord's building. Even those who own their own homes have little extra to make outlays for insulation. The poor also tend to drive older cars, which consume more energy than newer cars -- an effect both of age and of mandated automobile efficiency standards. But, at least in theory, the poor have a great deal of room in which to conserve, principally because the poor are saddled with energy inefficient devices and homes.

B. Energy Conservation

Energy conservation is a phrase that is much misunderstood. To many people it brings to mind an image of suffering and non-stop shivering. But energy conservation really means two very different things, depending on how it is used. To one set of people, conservation means driving less and turning down thermostats. To another, it is a matter of using technology to reduce energy consumption without giving up the benefits of that consumption.

The matter is further complicated by the existence of the myth certain interest groups have sold to many Americans -- especially many poor Americans -- that energy use and economic growth have a direct one-to-one relationship and that ever increasing leaps in energy consumption are required if poor and black Americans are to improve their economic lot.

Obviously the question of conservation is complicated and controversial, and space does not allow a complete review of the issue here.[22] I will briefly address two of the main points of controversy: the relationship between energy and economic growth and the potential for conservation among poor households!

C. Energy and Economic Growth

According to the U.S. Department of Energy, industrial energy use increased less than 1% between 1972 and 1978 while industrial output increased more than 21%. Obviously, for those six years at least, there was anything but a one-to-one relationship between energy use and economic growth.

After reviewing over 40 years of economic history, a group of researchers from Resources for the Future concluded: "There has hardly ever been a lock-step relationship between energy and the GNP." [23]

Myth Persists

The myth, however, persists. And that is largely for two reasons: one is that those with a self-interest in greater dependence on energy have aggressively promoted their point of view. The other, however, is that for the twenty years between 1950 and 1970, energy use and the economy did grow roughly at the same rate. During those years, the annual average growth rate of the economy was 3.2%, while energy consumption increased at an average rate of 3.4%.[24]

What the advocates of greatly increased energy consumption conveniently ignore in their analysis is that the period in which that relationship exists was a period in which the real price of all forms of energy declined. In short, because energy was becoming cheaper and cheaper, energy was used wherever it could be used, regardless of what a prudent energy-use policy would have suggested.

The direction of the energy price movement can be clearly seen in the Resources for the Future statistics below.[25]

Index of real energy prices from 1940 to 1977

100. = the price of energy in 1967

	Electricity	Natural Gas	Fuel Oil	Gasoline
1940	227.9	168.8	96.4	114.5
1950	125.9	101.4	100.7	99.6
1965	104.9	105.4	99.9	100.4
1970	91.3	93.3	94.0	90.8
1977	104.3	131.8	154.4	103.7

Obviously, there has been a profound change in the cost of energy. It would be surprising if that did not lead to an equally profound change in the relationship between energy and economic growth. Whereas a few years ago, many forecasts were predicting an American energy use level approaching 200 quad-million Btus per year by the end of the century, more recent forecasts foresee that statistic being nearly cut in half.

Clearly, the U.S. industrial sector has realized that it has an economic self-interest in conserving energy. The proponents of price-induced conservation argue that, at some point, individual consumers will fully realize the same thing. True as that may be, that way of thinking does not allow for the reality that many people simply don't have the money (or option) to retrofit homes or buy new energy efficient cars as a means of cutting consumption without sacrificing lifestyle.

Many others simply don't have the knowledge of energy savings that can be achieved through such efficiency improvements. A policy that attempts to force them to conserve by merely driving up the price of energy will do little except make their lives wretched.

D. Conservation and the Poor

Eric Hirst of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory noted that a survey of New York homeowners revealed that only 3% of poor homeowners who did not add insulation cited lack of financing as a reason for not doing so.[26]

That suggested to Hirst that surprisingly little is known about how to go about encouraging residential energy conservation. From a strictly technical perspective, there is absolutely no doubt that the homes of most poor Americans can be insulated a great deal better than they are, allowing the poor to consume less energy and avoid at least some of the effects of rising energy costs.

A means, however, does not now exist to allow those savings to be easily realized at least partially because there is no real understanding of how to translate the technical possibilities into workable policies. One of the major challenges of the 80s will be the resolution of that dilemma.

E. Energy and Jobs

The ability of energy prices to disrupt the economy has led many to conclude that energy is a major portion of our GNP. In fact, it is a relatively small percentage, constituting about 5% -- before the most recent increases. Though small, it is a critically important portion. For energy flows though every facet of our economy, affecting us all.

That blinds some people to the fact that employment in the U.S. energy industry (including coal and uranium mining, oil and gas extraction, electric utilities and wholesalers and retailers of oil, gas and coal) only amounts to some 3% of all employment.[27] The percentage of black employment in the energy industry is miniscule, with blacks, in most cases, making up 10% or less of the total in any of the categories.[28]

No one is predicting an explosion of employment opportunities in conventional energy production, though some jobs will be open up there. Opportunities will also open up in less conventional energy areas, including solar energy and conservation. And blacks should certainly work to get into those areas. But there is no convincing evidence that the energy industries will soon employ any more than a fraction of those blacks looking for work.

There is no room here to review the scenarios -- many of them fascinating -- which try to address future employment in energy production and conservation. Suffice it to say that the largest employment impact of the energy transition will not be direct but indirect.

The automobile industry, for instance, is very vulnerable to energy disruptions, as demonstrated by its dismal performance in 1979. And a recent study, after examining the outlook for world oil supplies, concluded that the automobile industry had some very rough times ahead.[29] It was a conclusion that said, in essence, that Detroit may very soon become obsolete.

A permanent slowdown in the auto industry has obvious implications not only for the welfare of one of the nation's large predominantly black cities, but for the welfare of thousands of auto workers (and workers in related industries) spread across the country. In general, many of those industries that are energy-intensive or very energy-related will face difficult times in this coming decade. And blacks who are considering entering such industries may be well advised to take a harder look. But at least some sectors within the field of energy will be thriving, especially with the large numbers of federal funds being made available for such things as synthetic fuel development. And blacks ought to try to insure that they benefit from that prosperity as much as anyone.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Clearly, the United States -- indeed all of industrialized society -- is in the throes of a major transition. What makes that transition all the more unsettling is that it did not stem from the introduction of any new technologies or from well thought-out social engineering. It was thrust upon a world that was unaware it was coming and ill-prepared for its effects.

The effects, on blacks in particular, have so far been disastrous. Yet, the transition pushes on.

In order to survive in it, blacks must put aside much of the conventional wisdom and try to make sense out of a new world order. The energy rules have changed. The only thing to do in such a circumstance is to adapt to that change. And as projections for world oil prices constantly move upwards, energy use must be reviewed in a totally new light.

Blacks tend to rent homes more so than whites, homes that are generally poorly insulated. And yet, no major piece of legislation has passed that speaks to the needs of such a group. The need in that area is clear. And though some suggestions have emerged -- one, for instance, recommending an Energy Block Grant for distressed cities -- those suggestions have not yet been translated into policy. Indeed more information is needed generally on how to bring about greater conservation. For though income transfer programs can help to mitigate the impacts of rising prices, they never reach everyone, and they cannot offer permanent protection.

Shift In Jobs

The energy conundrum will cause shifts in the jobs market. There needs to be better analysis of exactly where those shifts will occur and how the opportunities opening up can be targeted for black Americans.

The problems created by rising energy costs cannot all be dealt with at the federal level. Recognizing that, some public utility commissions (those in California and Michigan, for instance) have pioneered in advocating such things as life-line rates and low (or no) interest loans for home insulation. By in large, however, public utility commissions have been slow to address questions of social equity -- pointing up the desperate need for blacks to closely monitor public utility commissions and state and local energy agencies.

In a time of ever-increasing energy prices, however, even those leading the most energy-efficient lives possible cannot avoid feeling those costs. Society has a special responsibility in helping the least fortunate to deal with them. That has always been acknowledged and then largely ignored by those most prominent in the shaping of energy policy. The price shocks of 1979 finally forced some action on that front, though it is action many regard as less than adequate.

The major change required, however, may be in the way blacks approach energy policy. For traditionally it has been an approach that has asked only for financial relief -- if anything -- on the supposition that the larger scope of energy policy was not a proper concern. Yet it is the larger energy problem that has a most direct effect on black lives. Blacks must be involved in the shaping of this new energy era. Otherwise, when the transition has run its course, blacks are likely to find themselves still sitting in the cold.

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FOOTNOTES

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THE STATE OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY: A TEN YEAR PERSPECTIVE

By

Georgia L. McMurray

I. INTRODUCTION

For black Americans, the 1970's have been marred by a public ambivalence and, to some extent, resistance to extending the social and economic gains of the previous decade. Programs to eradicate poverty in the U.S. are given low priority now despite continuing evidence that poor and minority persons still have insufficient means to provide their food, shelter, clothing and health care. Two primary factors are contributing to this shift in the U.S. social policy agenda: the negative impact of persistent inflation/recession and unemployment and an emerging conservatism which encourages political leaders to limit the expansion or coverage of social programs.

The 1960's indeed represented a watershed in U.S. social policy. It was through the War on Poverty legislation of the 1960's that black Americans made major strides in improving their social and economic status. Until then, publicly financed social services, except for education, were expected to be available only as a temporary measure when private means failed and until they could be reinstituted. Because of the demands for greater social equity for the poor generated in the 1960's, a redefinition of public responsibility for the poor occurred. This redefinition was based upon a recognition that, with increasing urbanization and technological advancement in the U.S., many individuals, a disproportionate number of whom were black, now suffered the loss of private support either familial or through employment. For them, poverty had become a way of life. Despite the great spate of legislation enacted at that time, poverty fueled by racism and sexism persists in the U. S.

Because of this, social services, including income and personal support programs, housing, health, employment as well as education, are increasingly viewed, particularly by black Americans, as necessary public strategies for resolving the continuing problems of economic dependency and family instability. The eradication of poverty continues to be deemed a worthy public policy goal but the articulation of this in social legislation over the past few years reflects this society's ambivalence about its responsibility for the poor. Public programs for the poor and particularly their goals have oft-times been expressed in an inconsistent and sometimes contradictory manner. The experiences of the 1970's in carrying forward the War on Poverty programs of the 60's have made this goal confusion explicit.

The rapid growth of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in the 1960's, for example, due to liberalized administrative procedures and shifts in population distribution, triggered Congressional demands to limit the program by forcing parents to work, but no adequate provision was made to assure adequate child care or an increase in payments at least up to the poverty level despite the stated goals of the enabling legislation. Similarly, Medicaid and Medicare were enacted because of the recognition that poor health was an obstacle to economic opportunity, and a contributing factor to the financial dependency of old age; yet, the benefits of these two programs were limited to only certain groups of the very poor or those 65 and over.

In part, the 1970's response to extending social legislation has rested upon criticism about poorly-executed public policy providing a rationale for those opposed to social advancement to scuttle the hard-won policy battles of the years before. By the beginning of the 70's, demands for fiscal accountability through better documentation of program effectiveness were being translated into a policy bias against categorical programs and culminated into the 1972 General Revenue Sharing Act which, by all accounts, has been less redistributive to poor communities. This legislation which allocates over $6.7 billion each year to state and local governments has served to perpetuate discrimination against minorities and has resulted finally in less money being available to expand social services, particularly cash assistance and personal support programs such as day care.

Even with the protracted debates over the purposes of social services programming, however, expenditure outlays for the various services have grown and now continue at over 50% of the federal dollar -- from 47% in 1972 to 52% in 1974, including Social Security benefits reflecting increased numbers of Social Security beneficiaries as well as the rising cost of medical care. Black Americans are major recipients of these funds because they disproportionately represented among the ranks of the economically and socially debilitated, the two groups social services have traditionally been designed to aid.

In 1978, for instance, black Americans were 12% of the total U.S. population (25.4 out of 260 million persons) but comprised over one-third of those with incomes below the poverty level. Thus, poverty continued to be a critical distinguishing feature of the black experince in the U. S. Over 7.7 million blacks, about one-third of the black population, lived in poverty compared to a rate of 9% for whites. In addition, blacks were the most urbanized of all ethnic groups in the U.S. Over 75% lived in metropolitan areas in 1978 and 55% were in the central cities. Whether concentrated in the cities or isolated in rural areas, the need for adequate income, decent housing, assistance in caring for the young, the elderly or otherwise dependent has continued.

Black income generally did not rise during the latter part of the 1970's although two-parent family income increased slightly (4%). Many of the black poor were children and they usually lived in one-parent families headed by a woman. In 1978, 39% of the 5.8% million black families were headed by a woman alone--an increase from 35% in 1975--and almost 50% of all black children lived in these homes. Of the 1.6 million black families below the poverty level in 1977, 51% were headed by women, a rate that has remained constant for most of the 70's.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, in the 1970's, the greatest percentage increase in woman's labor force participation occurred for those with pre-school children, and the number of women who were the only wage earner in the family rose to the highest level ever recorded in the U.S. As of 1978, 16. 1 million women with children under age 18 were in the labor force, an increase of 17% from 1970; for women with children age 6 and under, the number totalled 5.8 million, a percentage increase of 14% from 1970. Many of these working mothers were black.

Poverty associated with female-headed families now constitutes one of the more complex and critical public policy issues facing this society. The needs of these families should be deemed both immediate and long-range and they bring the policy debates around social services into sharp relief; for instance, what should be the public stance toward working mothers particularly those who are single parents? What should be the trade-off between income support and employment programs? What about the provision of child care for working parents? Who should be the primary client: the child or the family? Should public support for child care be universally available--similar to public education, or should it be a welfare related program? Should the government foster the expansion of supply as well as the demand for child care? Nowhere do these issues become more critical than in discussions of welfare reform.

II. WELFARE REFORM

By any rule or measure, no one is content with the current welfare system. Clients view it as oppressive, bureaucrats consider it an administrative monstrosity and the public condemns its costs and coverage. Proposals to reform the system over the past ten years have reflected these various points of view. Early in the Nixon Administration, the ill-fated Family Assistance Plan (H.R. 1) was proposed as a way out of the welfare mess. This plan set forth, for the first time, a national minimum standard for assistance to be federally-financed and administered. After extended debate over the low standard level, ($1600 for a family of four) the provision to force women with young children to work and the feasibility of a federal assumption of the welfare program, the plan was abandoned. Those provisions dealing with the aged, blind and disabled were folded over into the federally administered Supplemental Security Insurance enacted in 1971. This program now has 4.2 million recipients.

In 1974, Congress passed, through Senator Russell Long's urging, provisions to locate and enforce "missing fathers" to support their children receiving AFDC.[1] Hailed as a cost containment measure by conservatives, this new amendment to the Social Security Act (Title IV-D) was viewed by others as undue harassment of families on AFDC or as a deterrent to otherwise eligible applicants.

No overall strategy at the executive level to deal with welfare for families with children was resumed, however, until 1976 when President-Elect Carter chose this issue as a top priority concern for his incoming administration. An intensive study and outreach strategy was soon initiated to establish parameters for forthcoming welfare reform proposals. After considerable hoopla interrupted by a series of delays, the plan was finally revealed in 1977 calling for a massive jobs and income program (HR 9030) by increasing to 1.4 million the number of publicly subsidized jobs and extending supplemental assistance and tax credits to the working poor. Congressional resistance to the costs and extension of benefits brought the Carter plan to a halt.

During the debate, Vernon Jordan, President of the National Urban League, sharply critized the 1977 Carter plan as ill-conceived. In his keynote address before the League's annual conference, he pointed out:

> "The basic outlines of the Administration's package have been made public, and they indicate that a real change is not in sight. Although the reform was to result in a system that would be equitable, simple to administer, promote family stability, and help the poor, we are likely to have to fight a plan that is inequitable, an administrative nightmare, promotes family instability and leaves many poor people worse off.
>
> This plan founders on major conceptual flaws. Among them are the mandates to keep a ceiling on costs no greater than present welfare-related programs, categorization of the poor, and a work requirement. Such measures would continue to stigmatize poor people while perpetuating negative myths abouth the poor. And a bad plan may be made even worse. There was one proposal to eliminate the federal housing subsidy program in order to transfer the money to the welfare program, a step that makes no sense at all. It would have destroyed already under-funded federal housing programs while further distorting welfare reform and like other elements of the welfare reform plan, it would take from some poor people to give to other poor people.
>
> The core of the welfare reform proposal links work to welfare, and thus perpetuates the vicious myth that poor people don't

> want to work. The fact is that poor people do want to work and do work. The fact is that poor people are as work-oriented as middle class people."

A much reduced Administration welfare reform bill has now passed the House (HR 4904) and is before the Senate where its chances for passage are considered to be less likely. The Carter bill provides for a $5.5 billion welfare package which includes fiscal relief to the states and a national minimum standard of 65% of the poverty level. Senator Long and Rep. Rousselot on the other hand, are pressing for a block grant approach to welfare reform whereby states would design their own welfare plans and no national eligibility or benefit standards would be established.

New Welfare System Proposed

In considering welfare reform, the National Urban League has proposed five goals which should characterize a new welfare system:[2]

1. the system should be adequate, equitable and universal
2. the system should be federally administered and funded
3. the benefits should not be work conditioned
4. the benefits should be cash rather than in kind
5. the goal of the new program should be income maintenance

Reviewing the new Carter welfare plan (HR 4904) within the context of the NUL position, several shortcomings can be identified. Most critically, welfare programs for families with children remain state-administered thus perpetuating the bureaucratic overlays which now characterize the current system. Administrative overhead costs for AFDC are almost 7% three times that of the Social Security program which is federally administered. Fiscal relief is granted to the states (rather than federal assumption of funding) because of the anticipated reduction in assistance as a result of the expanded jobs program (618,000 public sector jobs) and the increases in the federal matching share. Public assistance is still work-related with mandatory enrollment of all adult applicants/recipients except single parents of children 6 years of age, the second parent in a two-parent family and the incapacitated. Poor two parent families, employed or not, are covered either through Aid to Families with Dependent Children - Unemployed Fathers(AFDC-U) for families with an unemployed father in the home or by extension of the earned income tax credit.

Certainly the Carter plan does not provide the major overhaul the welfare system so desperately needs. For the almost four million families now receiving AFDC, 50% of whom are black, some relief may be offered through the bill now under Congressional debate, particularly if they reside in 13 southern states, including Louisiana, whose combined food stamps and welfare benefits are below $4700 a year (65% less than the poverty rate). Those who live in the urban areas of the Northeast will do less well because their current benefit levels are generally at a par with the proposed changes.

Welfare reform is thus caught in a number of intractable issues: Federal vs. states' rights, regional variation in cost-of-living, the relationship of employment to economic solvency, the responsibility of parents to support and care for their children and, not least of all, the cost.

Yet, in considering the complexity of these issues, the basic question seldom emerges. Can the U.S. commit itself to eradicating poverty particularly if this condition is to be defined in relative rather than absolute terms? Of course, a minimum level of subsistence can be established such as the poverty level below which no individual or family would be allowed to exist. This perspective is reflected by and large in the recent welfare proposals. But there is another side of the question. Poverty can also be considered as a "symptom of broad social inequality, not as state in itself."[3] Viewing poverty in relative terms, social programs would have to deal with distributional effects, i. e. altering maldistribution in resources and benefits among families in the U. S.

The National Urban League because of its long and deep commitment to achieve social justice and equity for black U.S. citizens has maintained welfare reform as a top program priority. In pressing its proposal for a universal refundable credit income tax, the NUL stresses the need for a clear reform of the welfare system to assure that no person in the U.S. has income below the official poverty line. The first line of attack is, therefore, and rightly so, to be absolute poverty, but, hopefully, in due recognition that this will not change the widening gap between the poor and non-poor in the U.S.

The black community has not, until now, clearly identified its interests in dealing with the realtive poverty that exists in this society. Closing the economic gap, through explicit proposals to redistribute wealth as income in the U.S. has to become central to the black policy agenda. It is contrary to the interest of most black Americans to support continued taxation policies which leave capital gains and other measures of private wealth relatively untouched. Most alarming now is the concerted effort to decrease or even remove property from the public tax rolls. Unless the black community begins to speak more forthrightly on issues of taxation at the federal as well as state and local levels, public resources for eradicating absolute poverty will continue to dwindle and opportunities to deal with the widening economic gap will be lost.

III. SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

The burgeoning criticisms of Social Security during the 1970's has represented one of the more significant shifts in public posture toward government programs to eradicate poverty; direct evidence that even the most worthy of social programs can be questioned. Enacted in 1935, this milestone legislation designed to minimize poverty among old and young dependent persons has done just that; but, with increasing costs and expanded coverage, Social Security is now under wide attack.

Over the years, and particularly between 1970 and 1976 in response to the growing militancy of the elderly, Social Security has been amended to expand coverage, liberalize eligibility and raise benefits. As a result of these changes, Social Security benefits, as of 1976, were paid to 33 million persons with a cash benefit total of $76 billion (4.5% of the Gross National Product). Criticisms of the program first began to surface because of expressed fears that expenditures would soon exceed the income generated by employer/employee contributions. The reports of the Social Security Trust Fund itself have projected that the reserve Trust Funds would be exhausted by the 1980's.

Underlying these concerns, however, are ideological strains as to whether Social Security should be an insurance or social assistance program, whether general revenues should be used to offset shortfalls in contributions, or what the appropriate benefits should be.

Social Security Successful

Few can argue, however, about the success of Social Security. Through this program, benefits are provided to retired workers, the permanently disabled and dependents, or survivors of insured persons. Social Security now constitutes the largest category of income other than earnings for low income families headed by men. Social Security alone has reduced the poverty rate among the elderly from 59.9% to 21.5%. Coupled with other social services programs, SSI and veterans pensions, poverty among the elderly fell from 29.5% in 1967 to 14.1% in 1977 compared to 14.2% to 11.6% in the same period for the general U. S. population. Including Medicaid, Medicare, and food stamps available to the elderly, the poverty rate among this group has dropped to an astonishing rate of 6.1%. The black elderly poor are less well off as their per capita benefits received are lower reflecting a lifetime of low-paying sporadic employment. The relatively lower participation of the blacks in old-age benefits is somewhat offset, however, by the relatively higher number of black families receiving disability or survivor benefits because of the earlier death or impairment of the insured worker. (Life expectancy among blacks still lags six years behind that of whites).

Despite the success of Social Security, there are demands now to deal with the actuarial problems in the program. Partly as a response to this as well as a calculated move to balance the 1979 federal budget, President Carter proposed a series of far-reaching changes in Social Security, both as to coverage and benefits.[4]

The proposed changes relate to the benefits and entitlements of survivors, disability beneficiaries, potential or actual recipients of the minimum benefit, and to the death or funeral benefit. These benefits are especially important to the poor. The proposed cuts would impose special hardships on persons with low earnings and on families with children. They discriminate against blacks and other minority persons, who, because of their lower life expectancy, depend on survivors/ benefits to a greater extent and longer than whites. The elimination of benefits for young parents, when their youngest child reaches 16 instead of 18, would be especially harsh to the non-working poor, most of whom have minimal education and training or are in poor health. For many of the poorest, the cut-off would mean either that the parent (usually a mother) would be forced to apply for AFDC or general assistance or that the 16 and 17 year old adolescent would be under pressure to seek paid work to help support the family. Similarly, the elimination of benefits for post-secondary students ages 18-22 would prove difficult for blacks as this source of income has been used by many black youth seeking to continue college. Reliance on a diminished Basic Educational Opportunity Grant Program is no substitute. BEOG annual payment is $1600 compared to $2040 from Social Security.

Congress has already approved the proposal to place a ceiling on disability benefits at 80% of previous earnings. This may result in a disincentive to the upward mobility of disabled workers and has come under particular criticism.

Social Security, so deeply imbedded in the social legislative fabric of the U.S., receives relatively mild attention in its role as a major deterrent to destitution and protracted poverty. It has been taken for granted. Now that its basic principles are increasingly being held up to scrutiny, the black community will have to give greater priority to this program to assure that long-established benefits especially as they aid Black Americans are not seriously eroded.[5]

IV. PERSONAL SUPPORT SERVICES

The need for personal support, someone to care for a child while a parent is away or an elderly or disabled person at home, is slowly being recognized as a legitimate public concern. Until recently, such assistance was expected to be provided through the family, church or friendly neighbor. Voluntary social welfare agencies developed through the philanthropic efforts of the well-to-do provided help to the most dire in need, usually as a last resort. Until the entry of government into social services in the 1930's, these agencies were the sole provider of social services including cash assistance. Their philosophy reflected a liberal attitude toward the poor but was restricted by class and religious bias which deemed the lifestyle of the poor as unacceptable. Now an array of personal support services has developed under public and private auspices, many in less than 20 years, but the 19th Century philosophical orientation of the voluntary sector still permeates the manner in which these services are delivered.

Even more critical is the fact that the leadership of the social service field, particularly the voluntary sector, is still maintained by the white establishment. Moreover, sectarian interests tend to cloud any attempt by the public sector to deal centrally with child welfare and family services. The black community's effort to confront the philosophy and control of the voluntary sector has been marginal. Black agencies providing personal support services are practically non-existent in the U.S. In the past ten years black social workers have organized themselves into the National Association for Black Social Workers to provide a base for identifying the professional interests of the black workers in the field. This organization has gained attention on its protest against transracial adoption but it has yet to take on the issues of who controls the delivery of social services.

As now delivered, personal support services cover many needs for children with or away from their families -- child care, foster care, residential placement, adoption; for families -- homemakers, counseling, information and referral; for the elderly — community centers, food programs, home care; but their availability and accessibility is still limited despite their growth since the mid-sixties. Further, even the growth has been unplanned, more a reaction to demand or pressure from special interest groups rather than as a systematic public response to the basic human needs personal support services should address. Part of this is due to U. S. reluctance to develop formal care systems for fear that these will undermine individual or family initiative, and part is due to the cost.

Kamerman and Kahn in their analysis of social services in the United States, state that despite the reluctance of this society to become more directly a welfare state, "government efforts have had to expand because voluntary effort could hardly achieve fairness, coverage, financing, efficiency, or even policy coherence on a larger scale."[6]

Need For Support Services

The black community has a particular need for personal support services because of the economic deprivation which is so much a part of individual and family circumstances. The needs fall in three major areas: support for families to care for their children, elderly or disabled members; support for the elderly to care for themselves; and support for families to increase their capacity to negotiate the broader community.

Expanding cash assistance programs will only meet part of these.

Increased demand, triggered by such an expansion will not necessarily translate into an increased supply of services, particularly those needing to be tailored to deal with the complex needs many black families have. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that cash assistance programs can be expanded sufficiently to provide enough income to purchase the range or quality of service required.

For many black working families, child care looms as the major personal support service most in demand. In 1978, 30% of black families had incomes of $15,000 and over. To a marked degree, increases in black family income have been due to the presence of a second wage-earner in the home, the working wife. Black families with one wage-earner, male-headed, had a median income of $9,219 in 1976; with the wife working this income went up to $15,703; for female-headed households with no husband present, the median income was less than $5,100. For the black family with a single parent, employment is even more critical. Yet, because of the lack of child care, many black single parents must rely on AFDC which, outside of employment, is the largest source of income for families headed by a woman. The Urban Institute, in a recent publication, The Subtle Revolution, estimates that 10.4 million children under the age of six, will have mothers in the work force in 1990, compared with 6.4 million children with working mothers in 1977, and that only 25% of mothers will be full-time homemakers. By all accounts, the need for child care outside the home will increase, not diminish, during the 1980's

Most parents, black or white, rely on private arrangements, either family members, sometimes an older sibling, or a neighbor for child care while they work. Most recent studies in day care report that such parents are only marginally satisfied with this care and prefer more formal arrangements for their pre-school as well as school-age children where the need is equally important.

The availability of licensed child care centers and family day care provider homes in the United States is quite scarce given the potential market for such services.[8] Many families make a number of serial arrangements for their young children each day to assure adequate supervision; for example, part-time nursery school, Head Start, pre-kindergarten or school followed by a babysitter. In fact, some analysts include the availability of pre-school services in discussions about child care. A 1973 HEW study, for instance, showed that 70% of all child care expenditures by government were work-related. This occurs because government-financed child care services are related to income and are provided primarily to AFDC and low-income families. Such services are generally unavailable to families where there are two wage-earners in the home because the family income usually exceeds the eligibility requirements.

In 1976, including Head Start, other pre-school programs as well as child care services, over 1.2 million children were served. Yet, including most pre-school services as available child care may be misleading as these are more directly related to child development goals and diffuse the need for child care for working parents. One of the major controversies of the 1970's has, in fact, been whether government should encourage the expansion of child development programs. President Nixon vetoed such legislation in 1971, under the notion that such programs undermined the role of the family. The right of a child to a full range of developmental services should be argued independently and not as a service for working parents. In the latter part of the 70's public demands for either program have subsided even though the need for them continues.

Although the vast majority of black children live with their own families, some are not so fortunate and must be placed in foster care or adoption because of death or incapacity of their parents. As of 1977, over 500,000 children lived outside of their own families. A disproportionate number of these were black (28%). Recent exposes documenting that children, particularly older black children, are languishing in foster care far too long have sparked interest both in expanding services to prevent foster care placement and in assuring planning for a permanent home, should foster care be necessary.

Few Black Agencies

Most foster care and adoption services are provided either through the public sector or by private voluntary, usually sectarian, agencies. Black-controlled agencies in this field are minimal to non-existent despite the large number of black children under care. The question of agency auspices becomes crucial in considering personal support services for children, families or the elderly because such supports deal with the intimate details of intra-familial relationships and so should be sensitive to the racial-ethnic and cultural framework in which these relationships are nourished.

Contrasted with the needs of children and families, the care of the elderly has been of central concern during the 1970's. In addition to the adjustments in the Social Security program, personal support services have generally been expanded to this group either as a means for adjusting to reduced living arrangements caused by a decrease in income upon retirement, or as a way of minimizing the need for placement in a nursing home or other institution. In senior citizen centers which have grown rapidly during this decade, meals, recreation, counseling and other socialization services are provided as well as assistance in obtaining health benefits, Social Security and other entitlements. The number of black elderly served through these centers,which are located primarily in urban areas,tend to be low (11%). Eligibility requirements for these senior citizen programs funded by the federal government are less stringent than those mandated for child care, thereby widening the pool of participation in the programs, thus diffusing their impact and availability to the black elderly poor.

Home care for the elderly, i. e., assistance in shopping, cooking, personal care, is also on the increase. This support is viewed as a major deterrent to institutionalization particularly when provided as part of a home health care program. Home care is also seen as a way of alleviating other family members, usually the daughter, of providing such care and is especially relevant with the increased number of women in the labor force eliminating the availability of the family member to perform daily tasks.

Given the growing population of elderly in the U. S. and their longevity, the need for home care will undoubtedly rise and bring into sharp debate the appropriate role of government in providing a range of home care services and their attendant costs in relation to the role and responsibility of the family.

Services to strengthen families generally, as opposed to individual family members are primitive in development in the United States and mostly available in the private sector. By legislative mandate, services such as counseling, information and referral should be available to families on AFDC,as they are considered most in need for such support. They are rarely provided in the public assistance system, however, and then only on a sporadic basis.

Most of the personal support services discussed above are financed through various titles of the Social Security Act and, until recently, were directly associated with the provision of public assistance. The 1962 amendments, for instance, expressly stated the federal interest in strengthening family life as an economic incentive. In 1967, this policy goal became more explicit with the passage of the Work Incentive Program and the provision, for the first time, for federal funding of a range of non-cash social services (Title IV-A). Through these amendments, the federal government set the stage for the major expansion of social services which, by the early 70's, had grown at a phenomenal rate. By 1971, expenditures for Title IV-A social services were $1.7 billion, 29% of which went for child care. This outlay was almost twice that of the year before. Because of this rapid growth as well as the continuing confusion about the purposes of social services, (i. e., should they be work-related and targeted only to the public assistance population, or should they be extended to support or strengthen families generally), the Nixon Administration moved to establish restrictive regulations on the use of federal funds. The resultant hue and cry created a political climate for the passage of Title XX, the social services revenue sharing act, even as a ceiling of $2.5 billion was being placed on its expenditures in October, 1972.

Title XX provides block grants to states which are required to prepare plans to assure the implementation of the legislation within its stated goals. Title XX programs are mandated to provide for self-support, to prevent, reduce, or eliminate poverty; to protect against child abuse and neglect; and to reunite families. Fifty percent of its service expenditures are to go to public assistance recipients. Persons with up to 80% of the median income can receive free services, and those with incomes up to 115% of the median, can obtain services on a fee basis.

Currently, Congress is considering legislation, HR 3434, which would further expand the federal role in foster care and adoption as well as provide for increased appropriation for Title XX. Generally, this bill establishes a ceiling of $46 million on foster care maintenance services and places emphasis instead, on prevention, reunification and adoption services. The Title XX ceiling would be raised to $3.1 billion in 1980 while continuing the $200 million earmarked for child care first passed in 1975.

Although laudatory in its efforts to improve foster care and increase funding for social services, the legislation has now been seriously flawed by amendments on the AFDC program which would restrict the income that working AFDC parents can earn without being penalized, eliminate these income disregards in calculating overpayments due to unreported earnings, and include the step parent's income in determining AFDC benefits relative to the household. All of these changes are viewed as cost containment measures - a recurring theme in welfare legislation - and are being considered independently of the welfare reform bill, HR 4904.

Social services in the United States today, particularly personal support services are marked by fragmentation, lack of coordination and poor quality. Moreover, the paucity of data on the kinds of persons receiving personal support services and the nature of the delivery system creates major difficulties in planning more viable programs. There is conflict over eligibility requirements, agency auspices, and the role of the federal government in financing and standards-setting.

The need of the black community for such services is paramount whether it be a teenage parent with young children, a working family with children, or an elderly person wishing to remain at home. Pressure to evolve a universal social service system tends to diffuse the particular needs of poor black Americans especially if the evolution of such a system is unaccompanied by a major infusion of new funds. Legislative activity over the past ten years suggests that major new funds will not be forthcoming in the near future.

V. HEALTH CARE

Prior to the 1960's, publicly-supported health care was only an incidental part of more general social or public assistance programs for the poor, but with the War on Poverty, such services became an explicit policy strategy to overcome economic deprivation. Legislation such as Medicare and Medicaid was enacted to alter the supply and distribution of medical services to the poor and elderly thus providing for more equal access to health care.

Beginning in 1965 with an appropriation of less than $4 billion, Medicare, a federally administered program to meet the varied medical needs of the elderly, now exceeds $14 billion as of 1978.

Medicaid, a federal and state/local program, has had a comparable rate of increase. Starting also in 1965 with a $1.5 billion spending level, the program was expanded in 1969 to provide broad health coverage to children up to age 21 from low-income families. As of 1976, Medicaid reached over 24 million persons at an expenditure rate of $17 billion. This increase in expenditures partly reflects the rising costs of medical care during the seventies (13% annual increase since 1974 because of inflation). Because of this increase, the expansion of both benefits and coverage lags with no consistent pattern of coverage in the various states.

Both health programs provide a range of services, from in-patient and out-patient hospital services to family planning, home health care and nursing homes for the elderly and early and periodic screening, and diagnosis and treatment for the young, but they are not routinely available throughout the U.S.

Eligibility for Medicare is tied directly to Social Security (OASDI) or railroad retirement benefits while Medicaid eligibility is linked to public assistance and is as complicated in its administration. Under Medicaid, all families who recieve AFDC are automatically covered. States may also elect to provide Medicaid benefits to SSI recipients (all but 15 states do). In addition, 22 states cover the medically needy as well as including, in 17 states, those children in families with income below the AFDC eligibility level.

Despite the rise in public expenditures and benefit levels in these two major health care programs, about 9 million persons are not yet covered; for example, poor individuals in families who fall outside of the AFDC eligibility requirements in a given state. The poverty families in the rural south are the hardest hit by this restriction. Medicaid has primarily serviced the long-term health care needs of the elderly. Three out of five Medicaid patients are white, and, although children actually make up 50% of the Medicaid patient load, they receive only 18% of the their benefits.

Notwithstanding this limitation on coverage, particularly for black persons and poor children, recent government reports draw attention to the improved access to health care for poor and minority persons as a result of Medicaid and Medicare because of increased utilization rates. Low-income persons not covered by these programs use medical services less frequently.

Important gaps in coverage and service still remain, however, related primarily to the maldistribution of medical services in the U.S. and their costs. Because of the dearth of physicians in low-income communities as well as the lack of primary case facilities, blacks tend to use outpatient hospital departments almost twice as much as whites and, despite the expansion of public support for health care, many black persons, at least 16% in 1975, still have no regular source of care.

Differences In Expenditures

In 1976 the per capita public expenditures for health care in the U.S. was $552 per year; for blacks, it was $224. In Medicaid, as an example, payments to whites were 74% higher than those paid to blacks, primarily because of the utilization rate for nursing home services which was four to five times higher for whites, due to discrimination against black in nursing home admissions. Elderly poor persons in Medicare, as another example, received reimbursement for medical services equal to that of one-half of that paid to those with higher income and blacks particularly received lower reimbursement for physician services because they use this service less regularly.

Blacks bear a particular health burden because of the problems of inadequate coverage and unavailable or inadequate care. The health care status of blacks as measured by research indicators continues to fall below that of whites. In 1979, for example, the life expectancy for blacks was still less than whites. The infant mortality rate for blacks, another indicator, is almost twice that of whites, and the maternal mortality rate three times as great. In 1973, three times more white women than black had prenatal care and white women were more likely to begin such care in the first three months of pregnancy (59% white and 45% black). These data highlight the needs of special groups within the black community who require special attention in planning for the expansion of health care services. Among these are pregnant women and young children. Their needs are urgent and cannot wait for the resolution of the U.S. debate on national health insurance which inevitably must deal with the broader issues raised above. In recognition of these immediate needs, Congress is currently weighing a child health assurance bill (HR 4692) which would add 26 million needy children and 100,000 low income pregnant women to Medicaid. This proposed program would replace the Early and Periodic Screening Diagnosis and Treatment Program (EPSDT) which reached only 25% of the children covered. Poor, pregnant women having their first child would be covered for the duration of the pregnancy and for 60 days after child birth. Treatment for children where medical problems have been found would be mandated regardless of the state's Medicaid plan.

The absence of a viable maternal and child health program in the United States is particularly critical for pregnant teenagers and young families with children because of the continuing high rates of at-risk births and poor health of children born to teenage mothers. In the past ten years, the number of births to teenage mothers has been on a steady increase.

Over 570,000 such births occurred in 1976, 28.4% of these were by black women. The rate of births among teenagers 15 and under is five times as much among blacks as it is among whites; for young black women ages 15-19 the rate is two times higher than their white counterparts.

The problem of teenage pregnancy and young motherhood needs immediate public attention, from the expansion of preventive services to the provision of adequate health and social services, should the young mother elect to bear and keep her child. The disproportionate representation of black adolescents bearing children needs to be a particular concern of the black community. Besides the problems inherent in children bearing children, the probability is that these young families conceived in poverty will continue to live in deprivation. These are the families that usually find themselves on the public assistance roles and remain there.

HEW has indicated that teenage pregnancy is a top concern because of its long term implications for child and family development. The federal government is focusing on developing comprehensive services, but the appropriation of $15 million is limited, given the need. In 1975, out of the $9.4 billion spent on AFDC, for instance, about 50% went to families where women had their first child while teenagers. Most of these young women start their families alone without completing their schooling. In 1975, 53% of all out-of-wedlock births were by teenage mothers. Their ability to work is constricted given their limited vocational skills and their need for child care is crucial should they wish to return to school, enroll in a training program, or get a job.

As a preventive service, family planning is more routinely available today than ten years ago. Publicly-supported services (in 1979,

$200 million was expended) are now being used by almost four million women and most states now affirm the right of teenagers to provide their own consent for contraceptive help. Because of the protracted controversy over medicaid-financed abortion, however, many poor women, including teenagers are being denied the right of choice as to whether to bear a child or not.

The now highly publicized needs of teenage parents and children are one of the more dramatic examples of how physical health, social and income needs must all be considered in planning for the development of comprehensive social services.

VI. NUTRITION

Like health care, food and nutrition have been viewed as major opportunities to deal with economic and social deprivation in United States. The food program; initiated or expanded in the 1960's -- school feeding programs, food stamps, food supplements for women, infants and children -- have all achieved a modicum of success in reaching the hungry poor and particularly children.

The national school lunch program, the oldest of these, provided full or reduced price lunches to 12 million poor children in 1978, three times the number served ten years previously. Although the program was modified to better meet the needs of poor children in the late 60's by changing the state formula requirements, not all children on AFDC participated in 1978. Of the 7.9 million on AFDC at that time, about two million did not receive school lunches. Part of the less than total participation of AFDC children may be due to their failure to apply for free lunch and thereby expose their welfare status. Because of this, and other reasons (primarily nutritional), universal school lunch programs have been advocated without a means test requirement. As a step in this direction, the government now spends $600 million above the $1.2 billion for poor children's lunches to subsidize the school feeding of over 26 million children.

Unlike the school lunch program, school breakfasts have been specifically provided for the poor. The program was initiated in 1968 because of the felt concern that many children arrived at school hungry and, therefore, could not concentrate on learning. Although the school breakfast program reached three million at a cost of $200 million in 1978, the program remains controversial because, according to some, it takes away parental responsibility. School boards in some localities have been reluctant to take on the additional tasks required to provide breakfasts in school. Special food programs are also provided to children in Head Start and child care programs, both of which serve a predominantly poor population. Again, the aim is to assure that poor children receive at least one meal a day. In 1978, over three million were reached by these special programs.

Low income pregnant and lactating women, infants and children up to age 5 are also eligible for special food supplements through the W.I.C. program set up in 1972 to provide food assistance to a nutritionally-at-risk population. Beginning with an appropriation of $12 million in 1972, the program now reaches over two million persons at a cost of $750 million. To assure that food is actually obtained, the supplements are purchased by voucher or delivered directly.

By far, the food stamps program first enacted in 1964, has been one of the most successful of the War on Poverty programs. Designed to enable poor families to purchase more food with their normal expenditure on food, the program has used a voucher rather than cash approach. Some criticisms have been lodged against this because vouchers limit the capacity of the food stamps recipient to spend his income. The program appears well received, however. As of 1979, almost 19 million persons were enrolled in the program, a three million rise from the year before when the program was modified to restrict its benefits to specific poor populations, to eliminate the cash requirement, and reduce the administrative costs.

In 1978, the budget for the food stamp program was almost $6 billion -- over twice as much as was appropirated ten years ago. Despite this increase, the program has yet to reach all who are eligible particularly among the elderly who are reticent in applying because they are fearful of a welfare stigma.

The provision of food and nutrition programs offers a significant variant in public policy. Unlike public assistance or other social service programs which either provide cash, reimburse or purchase service from a provider, food and nutrition programs provide commodities directly or authorize the use of vouchers to assure the purchase of food. The benefits of this approach are many; the funds can more nearly be used for their intended purpose, with vouchers, the consumer can make market choices but this depends upon a reasonable supply of goods, in this case, food. The choice factor is limited, however, to the voucher item and, for this reason, alternative strategies for alleviating economic deprivation including, most importantly, increased welfare benefits which would permit the family to make broad choices about its income are continually advanced.

VII. KEY ISSUES FOR THE 1980's

Few advances were made in social services during 1979 although the issues of welfare reform and improved child welfare and social services finally made their way to congressional debate. But even there legislative developments are being hampered now through conservative efforts to restrict their coverage by placing limitations on the use of public funds for abortion in the proposed child health program, or by curtailing any significant liberalization of the AFDC program.

During the coming decade, several key issues to the black community will undoubtedly surface in the public debate over social services. Of overriding concern will be whether such services should be universally available or targeted to special groups, such as the poor. Since blacks are disproportionately represented among the poor, special assurance will have to be given to maintaining the gains already made. Universal social services, if authorized, will require major new appropriations. As a public policy goal, such universality may have marked redistributive effects and deal more directly with the issue of relative poverty. This is a long-term goal, however.

For the 1980's, several issues, nevertheless, should be of importance to the black community:

Benefits and Services

- Expanded welfare reform to assure a minimum standard of living for all families at least at the poverty level
- Publicly-subsidized low cost quality child care - both preschool and after school for working families whether one or two parent household
- Universal available and accessible maternal and child health services (to include children up to age 21)
- Expanded Medicaid coverage to include all families with incomes

up to the poverty level.

- Maintenance of benefits and entitlements of survivors and recipients of the minimum benefit under the Social Security program
- Development of personal support services to maintain or reunite families

The debate around these issues will dwell upon whether such benefits and services should be categorically funded or made available to the states through revenue-sharing or block grants; corollary to this will be whether they should be federally or locally administered or available through the private sector (voluntary or proprietary) by purchase of service. The issue of cash or in-kind or voucher assistance has already been mentioned.

To a marked degree, blacks have benefited in the past ten years from public programs primarily set up at federal initiative during the 60's to eliminate poverty. These programs have been targeted to particular groups defined either by income or special need (age, health status, etc). Social Security programs enacted years before have followed essentially the same principles and have been exemplary in their federal administration.

These patterns of the past will provide the direction for the coming debate. In these times of scarce budgetary resources and growing political conservatism, choices among alternative public policy strategies will have to focus on those with the greatest needs first. Public policies that assist the poor can promote other objectives as well, as in health care and personal support services, and lay the groundwork for expanding coverage to the general population. The issue for the 1980's may finally be grounded on whether the U.S. will sustain its current resource commitment to the poor and not further erode the modest gains of the 60's.

Footnotes

[1] Russell Long, Senator, D.-La. is chairperson of the Senate Finance Committee, the oversight committee for welfare legislation.

[2] Income Maintenance, The National Urban League Position. July, 1975.

[3] For a full discussion on absolute and relative poverty, see DeLone, Richard: Small Futures, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979).

[4] Social Security was made a part of HEW in the early 70's and its expenditures and revenues were incorporated into the unified federal budget.

[5] Two federal committees -- the Advisory Council on Social Security, a statutory body, and the Social Security Commission, appointed by Congress -- are reviewing the program as a whole and the Carter proposals in particular. Their reports are expected in the near future.

[6] Kamerman, Sheila B. and Kahn, Alfred J., Social Services in the United States, Policies and Programs. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976).

[7] Under $4,000, less than 20% of black children live with both parents; at $15,000, most do (86%).

[8] Family day care provides care in a home which is licensed and supervised by public and private agencies.

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CHANGING TRENDS IN HOUSING

By

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The purpose of this paper is to detail the status of housing for black Americans during the decade of the 1970's and to provide some projections of what the housing picture for blacks in the 1980's may be. The analysis will emphasize housing conditions and the policy issues that have affected and continue to affect blacks.

The paper will unfold as follows. A summary is contained in Section I. In Section II specific housing conditions for 1970-1977 are chronicled. Section III covers the housing issues of the 1970's, and Section IV addresses prospects for the 1980's. Section V contains conclusions.

I. SUMMARY

Though it took the federal government until the 1950 Census of Housing to begin to measure housing conditions (or amenities and disamenities) by race, deficiencies in the quality of housing acquired, difficulties in affording available housing, and limited access to housing have long been housing facts of life for blacks.[1] In the 1960's, the major public realizations with respect to the housing of blacks related to the impacts of the urban renewal process (dislocation and displacement), the creation of white suburbs around increasingly black cities, and the lack of equal opportunity in the search for housing. These realizations and the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 came along with the riots and assassinations of the 1960's.

During the 1970's the civil rights struggle focused on trying to mesh the equal opportunity goals of the hard won legislation from the 1960's with the goals of existing housing programs. The struggle was not won. In the meantime, affordability of housing became an even more important issue for both renters and owners, blacks and whites, in the face of general price inflation and the energy crisis. The back-to-the-city movement came along and began to replace the federal bulldozer as the major cause of displacement; this time the displacement was for the sake of private redevelopment. In the light of all these developments fair housing advocates began to shift their emphasis from the legislative arena to that of the regulatory agencies (i.e., suit by NUL et. al. vs. federal financial regulatory agencies).

The 1970's also witnessed a change in the federal role as administrator of housing programs. Decentralization of program administration under the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program and a general budget tightening after the Nixon induced housing moratorium of 1973, both indicated the desire of the federal government to step out of the role of "doer" and into the role of regulator and policy goal setter.

The issues of incipient displacement, housing affordability, the lack of equal housing opportunity, and program budget cuts linger on as we enter 1980. In addition, problems related to the housing conditions of blacks in suburbs, the housing of the black elderly in central cities, insurance redlining, and the disposition of public housing projects, for which the Annual Contributions Contracts with the federal government have expired, are among the new problems expected to require the attention of those who are concerned with the state of housing of black Americans in the 1980's.

II. HOUSING CONDITIONS IN BLACK AMERICA 1970-77

Black Americans emerged from the 1960's with a clear awareness that their housing problems were associated with their inability to afford certain units, the quality of the units available to them, and the lack of equal opportunity in access to housing units. Some of the data underlying these first two realizations are analyzed in this section. Findings for the U.S. (1970-1977) as a whole are presented first, followed by a discussion of findings for eight cities (1973-1977) with varying percentages of black households.

National Statistics

A primary measure of the disparity, between the way white Americans and black Americans are housed, is the proportion of owner-occupied and tenant-occupied units among the two groups. From Table 1 it can be seen that ownership rates are consistently lower among blacks than among all races (and implicitly among whites).* This was true from 1970 to 1977, though the percentage of blacks who owned their homes increased during this period from 41.6% to 43.6% while the percentage of owners among all races simultaneously increased from 62.9% to 64.8%.

If one focuses upon black homeownership rates in metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1976, the figures increased from roughly 30% to 41%.[2] Over the same period, there were differentials in the rates for blacks in the suburbs and in the central cities as well. For blacks in the suburbs the ownership rate dropped slightly from 54% to 52%, while for blacks in central cities the rate increased from about a third to 37%.

The question of affordability can be addressed by examining value-income ratios (Table 1) which are the ratios of the total purchase price of a house to the purchaser's current annual income. An accepted rule of thumb holds that the purchase price should be betwen 2.5 and 3 times annual income, but as the table shows, the ratios for all races during the period 1970-77 constantly exceeded the ratios for blacks. This reflects in part the higher average incomes of whites and their ability to afford more expensive units.

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*Available statistics provide information only for blacks and all races. The latter category includes whites -- in the overwhelmingly majority -- as well as blacks and other minorities.

The table shows that blacks are also at a disadvantage in regards to the burden of rents paid. When measured as a percentage of income, rents paid by blacks constitute a greater proportion than rents paid by all races. Blacks were more likely to be renters (56.4% in 1977) than all races (35.2% in 1977). Since black households are homeowners less frequently than are households of all races they are often locked into paying whatever the rental market demands.

Another method of assessing the housing picture is to look at housing amenities and disamenities. The former include such positive things as air conditioning, number of bathrooms, age of structure and number of rooms. The latter include such negative items as the lack of some or all plumbing, more than 1.01 persons per room, lack of central heat, and lack of a private bath.

As Table 2 reveals, all races whether renters or owners have an advantage over blacks in housing amenities. If comparisons are made within each race category, owners had a consistent advantage over renters in the period 1970-1977.

Similarly, though the percentage of units in each category of disamenity noted in Table 3 declined between 1970 and 1977, black renters and homeowners are still observed to be at a disadvantage relative to households of all races. A greater percentage of black households than of households of all races is found living in units of each type: lacking some or all plumbing, with 1.01 or more persons per room, built before 1939, without central heat, with a shared or no bath, and with a shared or no kitchen.

Between 1970 and 1976 the share of overcrowded units among black households declined but still remained twice as high as that for all households.[3]

In addition, it was found that in 1976 low-income central cith households, both blacks and whites, lacked adequate plumbing more than twice as often as all central city households.

In conclusion, at the national level (1970-1977), a greater percentage of blacks than of all races lived in units with selected disamenities, and a smaller percentage of blacks than of all races lived in units with selected amenities. Black renters paid a larger percentage of their incomes for units over this period of time than renters of all races. Moreover, a greater percentage of owners of all races were able to acquire units which generated larger value-income ratios than were black owners. In short, our answer to the question posed in the title of a recent HUD report, How Well Are We Housed? -- is that blacks are housed very badly.

City Statistics

In order to get a better feel for the housing conditions of black Americans, a sample of eight geographically dispersed central cities with varying proportions of black households was selected. The cities are listed in decreasing order of percentage of black households both in 1970 and in the years for which Annual Housing Survey data are available for each (See Table 4). In Tables 5-12, the percentage of black households out of all households in given categories of amenity and disamenity are provided. These data will now be analyzed.

For the cities in which blacks constitute 30% or less of total households (e.g., Philadelphia, Houston, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, and Seattle), blacks are overrepresented in the categories that indicate housing disamenities. For these cities blacks constitute one-third to one-half of all households in the following categories: undesirable neighborhood/wish to move, inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move, lacking some or all plumbing, 1.01 or more persons per room, shared or no bath, and shared or no kitchen.

Such overrepresentation is much less often the case in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and St. Louis, the cities in which the percentage of black households ranged from 62.4% to 33.9% in 1970. This suggests that in large central cities as the proportion of blacks increases the average quality of housing also often improves.

Consistent with the finding for disamenity measures, black households are often under-represented in housing amenity categories in cities where they are 30% or less of all households. Black households out of the total often are less than 20% in the following amenity categories: excellent or good opinion of structure, excellent or good opinion of neighborhood, units with two or more complete baths, and units with air-conditioning. Results for blacks and all races in the eight cities in 1970 and in the Annual Housing Survey years are about the same for the following categories: median number of rooms, median rent-income ratio, and median value-income ratio. The percentage of blacks as owners and renters of single-family units varies quite a bit by city, and possibly reflects more than anything else the type of structues available in the rental and sale housing markets of these eight cities (i.e. apartment houses as opposed to single family homes).

When disaggregated to the city level, the percentage of blacks living in housing with disamenities continues to be greater than the percentage living in housing with selected amenities. This finding varies, of course, by the type of city examined both in terms of the percentage of black households and in terms of the housing market structure.

III. THE HOUSING CONTEXT OF THE 1970's

In this section the context of the housing market that faced blacks in the 1970's is covered in detail. The factors discussed include the following: the economic situation and housing affordability, disappointment with the federal fair housing enforcement effort, federal program decentralization, federal government ambivalence in setting housing program goals, and the shift in role emphasis by the federal government from that of a "doer" to that of a regulator or goal setter. The following quote from a recent HUD report capsulizes the concerns of central cities and their largely black populations in the 1970's:

> "...pressing economic and social needs persist, particularly in central city areas. The problems of economic decline, physical deterioration, fiscal distress, governmental inefficiency, and the denial of equal opportunity that have been visible for decades continue to persist and continue to demand national response."[4]

The economic situation of the 1970's, replete with inflation and recession, has affected the stability of the housing construction industry and reduced the annual increments to housing supply. The dynamics of the market have changed in the wake of rapid price increases and the general construction slowdown triggered by the 1973 moratorium on the construction of subsidized units. The affordability of shelter is now an issue for more than just the poor and the black because of increases in housing costs, fuel costs and property taxes across the board.

Because of inflation, homeownership has come to be viewed more as an investment and less as something suitable primarily for families with children who live in the suburbs. In fact, many new purchasers are childless households and two-wage earner families.[5] This shift in the rationale for homeownership has caused an increased demand for already constructed homes. The Urban Homesteading program is one of many that has evolved to fulfill some of this new demand by reusing abandoned central city units. Unfortunately, the second and third round effects of programs of this sort have too often involved displacement of low-income renters and owners from their central city residences.* This displacement and the subsequent depletion of the low-priced rental stock have serious consequences in the present when new waves of immigrants (from Latin America and Indo-China) are coming to vie for this stock against the indigenous lower-income American population.

Rent Control Instituted

In many cities where price increases have placed rents beyond the means of current tenants, the second generation of rent control measures (the first was post World War II) has been instituted. Unfortunately, rent control, and the associated limited profits for landlords have helped foster the condominium and cooperative conversions of many buildings. This conversion of rental units to yet another form of ownership to keep up with the growing demand for units to purchase also often leads to displacement of low-income, elderly and black tenants who cannot afford the prices. The situation has become so serious that some communities have added anti-speculation clauses to their rent control legislation, and a bill to halt condominium and cooperative conversions (H.R. 5175, the Condominium-Cooperative Conversion Moratorium Act) was introduced during the first session of the 96th Congress.

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*Due to the way displacement takes place it is often very difficult to know who has actually been displaced. It is even more difficult to trace and count the number of households who have been displaced. Therefore, good hard data on this phenomenon are rare although displacement is obviously occurring and negatively affecting the poor and minorities.

The issue of affordability, always of concern to black and low-income Americans, became in the 1970's a real concern for larger groups of the population who previously would have sought out new housing. Their inability to afford new housing has resulted in the displacement of residents by private market forces in many cities. In the meantime the federal government continues to merely study the problem as required under Section 902 of the HCD Act of 1978.

A second major factor affecting the housing of black Americans in the 1970's was racial discrimination. It was officially pronounced "alive and well" in 1979 as the result of an audit conducted by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), whose findings were issued in a 1979 HUD report.[6]

• This research demonstrated that 85% of blacks seeking a rental unit will encounter at least one instance of discrimination. For those seeking to purchase, 48% will face racial discrimination. When these rates are applied to the number of people who moved in 1977, as measured by the Annual Housing Survey, HUD estimates that black families in the United States in 1977 encountered approximately two-and-a-half million instances of discrimination.

It is fair to say that efforts to secure the promises of open housing, made in the 1968 Fair Housing Act have been a major disappointment to black Americans, as has been the federal fair housing enforcement effort. A study by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (CRC), identified the following deficiencies in that effort:[7]

1. Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 is a weak law which only authorizes the power to conciliate and negotiate.
2. The federal agencies charged with ensuring equal housing opportunity have not adequately carried out their duty. HUD in particular has not been given the necessary assistance or been organized to exercise its role effectively.

3. Government appropriations to support fair housing have been inadequate.

Given the acknowledged weakness of the Fair Housing Law, the National Urban League and other organizations worked vigorously in 1979 to release strengthening amendments from Congressional Committees. These amendments would have given HUD cease and desist powers, among other authority, with regard to complaints. The amendments were still in committee as the decade ended, and their prospects for vigorous implementation, even if passed, seem limited in light of the conservative mood of the country.

The second deficiency in the fair housing enforcement effort relates to the role played by federal agencies. In particular there has been a failure within HUD to integrate equal opportunity goals into the goals of existing, operating programs. Part of the reason for this failure is organizational. The Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (FHEO) is given numerous other unrelated equal opportunity tasks, the accomplishment of which serve to isolate the office's mission from that of program offices. In addition, the managers of HUD area offices are charged with both FHEO and program functions but are given limited authority to make program decisions.

Examples of the failure to integrate equal opportunity goals with program goals exist in all HUD programs. However, the focus here will be upon the Section 8 and Community Development Block Grant programs, both products of the 1974 HCD Act. In addition to the incompatibility of equal opportunity and program goals, these examples reflect some of the problems associated with decentralized program administration.

Section 8 Pays Difference

Section 8 is a program that provides payments to private market landlords of the difference between 25% of tenants' incomes and the fair market rents applied to their units. Such payments are to assist low-income households to acquire units at prices they can afford. Each local participating administrative agency is required to submit an Equal Opportunity Housing Plan (EOHP) to HUD containing policies and procedures for:

1. Ensuring that housing for eligible families can be found in areas outside low-income and minority concentrations and outside the local jurisdiction where possible.
2. Assisting Section 8 certificate holders to find suitable housing when discrimination has prevented them from doing so.

But the local administrating agencies for Section 8 are required only to puruse these goals "where possible" and are not required to do so in an affirmative manner. They also are not required to follow-up on complaints of housing discrimination or to even refer these complaints to HUD for action. Consistent with the existence of loopholes in the requirements of the Equal Opportunity Housing Plan and despite HUD claims to the contrary, the Commission on Civil Rights has found that very little had been done to achieve the EOHP objectives, especially in the cities of Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Winston-Salem, three of the many cities evaluated in 1978 for their equal opportunity performance in program areas.

Decentralized Administration

The CDBG program and the Section 8 program were designed for decentralized administration at a time when cities were in fiscal distress and found it more to their advantage to spend the program funds on other needs. The CDBG program, especially, has been caught in a tug-of-war between federal goals for it and the goals of its local administrators. In addition it has not lived up to the equal opportunity mission as mandated.

The CDBG program brings under a single umbrella all the former categorical grant programs for community development. Cities with populations over 50,000 and urban counties are entitled to federal assistance under the program if certain additional requirements are met. Among these requirements are the following:

1. Establishment of the spatial deconcentration of low-income residents as a goal of the Housing Assistance Plan forming part of the CDBG application.
2. Providing assurance that their programs are conducted and administered in conformance with Titles VI and VIII.
3. Disapproval of a CDBG application if Title VI or Title VIII are not complied with.
4. Prohibition of discrimination in CDBG programs and activities.

The overall administration of the CDBG program by HUD has been deemed inadequate by the Commission on Civil Rights for the following reasons:[8]

1. There is inadequate monitoring. Only those applicants who say they will use less than 75% of CDBG funds to benefit low-and moderate-income persons are subject to substantive pre-award reviews.
2. The regulations for CDBG do not require communities to undertake specific actions to address the housing and community development needs of minority and female-headed households.
3. As of the fourth year for CDBG, HUD had not disapproved a single application because of civil rights violations though innumerable such violations had been revealed.

In the late 1970s, some modifications were made in the legislation and regulations governing the CDBG program. As a result more attention has been paid in HUD's administration of the program to targeting benefits to low- and moderate-income residents and to mitigating the effects of displacement caused by community development activities. The regulations and administrative directions to HUD field offices announced a policy for use of a minimum of 75% of block grant funds to benefit low-and moderate-income persons. However, the larger picture reveals that much remains to be done to both target 75% of the funds to benefit low-and moderate-income persons and to achieve the equal opportunity goals embodied in the legislation.

Federal Policy Ambivalent

Another factor that has impacted the housing situation of black Americans in the 1970's is the ambivalence on the federal level in terms of goals for housing programs that affect black and low-income groups. This attitude at the federal level may merely reflect the growing sentiment among non-black Americans that special efforts are no longer needed on the behalf of blacks in this country.[9] Evidence of this mood is also mirrored in new programs and evaluation approaches which focus upon "places" rather than "people."[10]

The two goals about which federal policy is most ambivalent are those of neighborhood stabilization and spatial deconcentration of low-income and minority households. The National Urban Policy proclaims both of these goals without any suggestion that they might be in conflict. From the perspective of blacks and the low-income, these two goals often work at cross purposes. Spatial deconcentration clearly destabilizes and destroys low-income and minority neighborhoods.

In addition to the general federal ambivalence about these goals, the happenings of the 1970's and a recent analysis by Lawrence Thompson suggest that a general policy of spatial deconcentration of minorities and the low-income may not open up for them all the wondrous things that suburbia has been proclaimed to offer its residents.[11] In the face of recession, low-income and minority housholds in particular, but all households in general would do well to remain in the central cities where employment-population ratios, even when controlled for appropriateness of skill level in jobs, have been found to exceed those for the suburbs in the 33 largest metropolitan areas. Also, in the wake of upward spiraling energy costs for home heating fuel and for the journey-to-work, black and low-income households could be advised to remain in central cities where they have both public transportation and access to a wide range of employment opportunities.

The final factor that has influenced the housing situation of black Americans in the 1970's, and that will be discussed here, is the move on the part of the federal government to play a lesser role in the active pursuit of housing goals but to retain its functions as a regulator and program goal setter. Evidence of retrenchment in the federal posture as a "doer" is provided by the budget cuts that have lingered with us through the decade since the 1973 moratorium on the construction of subsidized housing. A specific example of the withdrawal of the federal government as an active participant in the housing arena is the fact that Fiscal Year 1980 regulations for the low-income housing program require tenants to pay 30% rather than the previous figure of 25% of their incomes for rent. The federal government is no longer willing to bridge that gap with its Annual Contributions Contracts, which provide payments to local housing authorities to ease the drain on local funds for subsidized housing.

The overall impact of budget cuts in federal programs has been to shift the primary class of beneficiaries in programs for the low-and moderate-income from the ranks of the low-income to the ranks of the moderate-income. This occurs in the attempt to spread limited funds across the greatest number of households.

Shift to Regulatory Sphere

The fact that the federal government has opted to play a heavily regulatory role in part caused the recent shift in focus of the fair housing movement to the regulatory sphere. This shift in emphasis is reflected by the 1976 suit brought by the National Urban League and other civil rights organizations against the federal financial regulatory agencies. This suit was filed contemporaneously with the passage of legislation requiring greater responsiveness of the regulatory agencies.

In 1974, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (ECOA) was passed; it was later amended in 1976. The ECOA makes it unlawful for creditors to discriminate against any applicant with respect to any aspect of a credit transaction (including a mortgage transaction) on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, sex marital status, age, or source of income. The Federal Reserve Board (FRB) has responsibility for prescribing the regulations to achieve the purpose of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act passed in 1976, requires specified depository institutions to annually disclose by census tracts or zip codes the total number and aggregate dollar amount of their mortgage loans. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) is required to work with HUD, FRB, the Census Bureau, the Comptroller of the Currency (COC), and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to develop the most economical means to comply with this data collection requirement.

In 1976, dissatisfied with the pace at which the financial regulatory agencies were living up to their responsibilities, the National Urban League and others brought suit against four of them (the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) on the following grounds:

1. Race and sex discrimination have long existed and continue to exist in the home mortgage lending operations of institutions supervised by the defendant agencies, and the defendants are aware of this.
2. The defendants are obligated by law to exercise their supervisory and regulatory powers to ensure against such discrimination.
3. The defendants have abdicated this responsibility by failing to adopt the standard procedures used by other agencies in civil rights enforcement.

In 1978, the case against the Federal Reserve Board was thrown out of court for lack of standing by the plaintiffs. However, enforcement terms were specified by the federal court for the other three agencies. To date progress on implementation has been slow. The OCC, FHLBB, and FDIC have issued Title VIII regulations, but actual enforcement efforts remain to be seen.

In 1977, the Community Reinvestment Act was passed. This legislation requires that regulated financial institutions demonstrate that their deposit facilities serve the convenience and needs of the communities in which they are chartered to do business. The fact that the regulatory agencies are to examine the extent to which their institutions fulfill community needs is merely a restatement of the terms of their charters. However, the burden of proof of a violation of the act rest primarily upon the aggrieved community. The effectiveness of this act is also as yet unproven.

The Commission on Civil Rights in a report covering the federal fair housing enforcement effort between January 1975 and August 1978, indicated that no enforcement actions had been taken by the federal financial regulatory agencies as of May 1978. Whatever comes from the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, the National Urban League suit, and the Community Reinvestment Act to lessen housing discrimination will undoubtedly require more public agitation and continued pressure from concerned parties.

What beliefs do black Americans hold regarding their housing situation as a result of their experiences in the 1970's? Black Americans have been largely shaken from their confidence in the beliefs held sacred at the end of the 1960's. We have seen that more federal dollars and increased housing production when made available do not always positively impact the problems of cities. We have seen that decentralized decision-making regarding the disbursal of federal funds can have definite drawbacks vis-a-vis the interests and needs of low-income and minority households. The hard-fought-for civil rights legislation needs muscle to be enforced in the face of the current national mood which lacks sympathy and support for this cause. We have seen that fair housing legislation alone is not enough. We have also seen the return of an old problem in a new guise. We have once again begun to be affected by displacement from our residences this time not by urban renewal but as a sacrifice on the altar of private reinvestment.

IV. PROSPECTS FOR THE 1980's

What does this analysis lead us to expect for the housing situation of black Americans as we move into the 1980's? We expect that the differentials in the condition of housing occupied by black Americans and by all races will remain. However, we expect that findings from the 1980 Census will cause us to focus upon the housing concerns of black Americans in several different locations.

First, in the 1980's more young blacks -- with education, with families, and with above average incomes -- are expected to be found as recent migrants to the South.[13] In addition, more young black households are expected to be found in the suburbs of U.S. cities.[14] The third and final relevant location trend expected in the 1980's is the fact that even more elderly blacks will be found in central cities than have been previously.[15]

Continuing Issues

Many of the issues from the 1970's will enter the 1980's with us. Foremost among these is the need to achieve equal opportunity in housing. With or without the passage of the current amendments to the Fair Housing Law, the push will continue to give teeth to the existing legislation for fair housing.

Another issue that has followed us from the 1970's into the 1980's is that of displacement. Black America is now aware of the full potential for its displacement by both public and private actions. Amendments to the 1970 Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act were introduced as S.1108 in the first session of the 96th Congress. These amendments would provide benefits to those adversely affected by federal action even without acquisition. Regardless of the fate of this particular bill, a widening of the coverage of the 1970 act for publicly caused displacement is certainly needed, along with legislation to assist those displaced by private action, perhaps through the use of Section 8 subsidies.

A third issue that comes into the 1980's with us is the need to maintain and even increase the supply of low-cost rental housing and to make all housing (both owned and rental) more affordable. The Condominium-Cooperative Conversion Moratorium Act of 1979, introduced in the first session of the 96th Congress, has as its objective to force a cooling off period during which the situation of rental unit conversions is studied and something is subsequently done to benefit those displaced by this conversion process. Calling a moratorium on the conversions of rental units to owner-occupied units, if ever achieved, may help to maintain the existing supply of low-cost units; however, it will do nothing to increase this supply. An increase in the supply of these units is needed to accommodate the competing future demands to be made upon this stock by black Americans and by the new immigrants to the country (mainly Latin Americans and Indo-Chinese).

Affordability of units will continue to be a problem for black Americans and for increasing numbers of all Americans as long as inflation remains with us. Some assistance to homeowners who are hard pressed by the series of relevant cost increases (fuel, taxes, repairs) is certainly in order.

A fourth issue that will impact the housing situation of black Americans in the 1980's is the budget cuts for federal housing programs which seem to have become perennial. Section 8 -- the program which some believe has the potential of eliminating the housing problems of the low-income and also the program whose total annual allocations continue to be shared by too many other programs (e.g., Neighborhood Strategies Areas) -- in particular would be seriously reduced in effectiveness by continued budget cuts. The discovery of program abuses and the price hikes associated with Section 8 fair market rent declarations in some areas of the country may, however, place the future and the funding levels of this particular program in jeopardy.[16]

New Issues

The expectation of some population redistribution of black Americans throughout the country suggests some housing situations that may become new issues in the 1980's. The first of these is the fact of increased black presence in the suburbs. Harold Rose suggests that this wave of black suburbanization will proceed primarily as the extension of central city ghettos and that blacks will remain as segregated in the suburbs as they were in the central cities.[17] Equal opportunity for housing in the suburbs is far from being a reality.

Rose and other authors doubt that the suburbs in the 1980's will be able to fill that important socialization function played by cities for their earlier waves of black migrants. This will be especially true if blacks reach the suburbs because they are displaced out of the central cities and if they settle in segregated enclaves that lack political incorporation. Rose has shown[18] that, nationwide, existing black suburban communities are deprived relative both to other suburban communities and to their corresponding central cities in terms of average income levels and house values. This finding suggests that the advantages to suburbanization by blacks are primarily locational and situational. However, the recent energy crisis has rendered these advantages more like disadvantages.

The second expected population redistribution of blacks that may engender problems in the 1980's is the increased proportion of black elderly who will be found in the central cities in the coming decade. At the same time that the black elderly are expected to reside increasingly in central cities, all wage earners are expected to constitute an increasing proportion of the suburban population.[19] This situation suggests a further fiscal burden on cities in the provision of required services for these elderly citizens. The possible future scenario suggests the need for vigilance on the situation of the housing of elderly blacks.

Other Problems Foreseen

Independent of the population redistribution expected of black Americans in the 1980's, other problem areas are foreseen. The first of these relates to the fact that Neighborhood Strategies Areas (NSA's) which were designated in 1978 will have ended their five year lives by 1983. The concept of NSA's is to develop urban areas that can be dramatically improved in five years through the use of federal dollars (Section 8 allocations) and private investment. The problem of targeting in a given area is that without assistance, adjacent areas only slightly more marginal continue to decline. They may later need more assistance than existing programs could provide. These areas adjacent to neighborhood strategies areas, neglected in terms of both federal and private investment dollars, may be real problems by the mid-1980s.

Another new problem area may result because some of the Annual Contributions contracts (ACS's) for federal payments to public housing authorities in support of low-income housing developed after the 1937 Housing Act, will expire in the early 1980's. These ACC's were for 40 years, the length of time required to pay off the bonds on the projects. Though HUD has indicated its willingness to renew the ACC's, and continue some supportive funding, some housing authorities will be more interested in turning a profit on the sale of the land under these projects than in maintaining them as units for the current tenants. Legislation is sorely needed to lay ground rules for whatever transactions occur subsequent to the expiration of ACC's. A Public Housing Preservation Act to address this need is being readied for introduction during the second session of the 96th Congress.

Yet another problem area may result from the increased use of zoning stipulations to raise locally collected revenues. In the aftermath of Proposition 13, some localities can be expected to limit the type of housing constructed within their borders to those types that will increase the tax base (i.e., expensive single family homes will be favored over subsidized apartments). The effect may be yet another hindrance to the achievement of equal opportunity in access to housing.

The final potential issue of the 1980's that is considered here is insurance redlining. During the 1970's attention was focused primarily on the existence of redlining by mortgage lenders. Now that the 1960's anti-discrimination legislation has been given some teeth by the NUL suit against the federal financial regulatory agencies which govern the mortgage lending institutions, the attack on redlining is shifting to that done by insurance companies. Insurance companies can redline areas by cancelling policies, refusing to insure or renew, or by varying the terms under which insurance is available to individuals because of the geographic location of the risk. Quite contrary to their stated purpose, the FAIR (Fair Access to Insurance Requirements) insurance plans are operated in complicity with the redlining goals of the insurance industry at large. The FAIR plans are a federally mandated, state-sponsored last resort insurance mechanism for those unable to obtain property insurance in the voluntary market. The fact that FAIR plan areas and FHA assisted mortgage areas are coterminous in many cities further implicates FAIR plan administration in redlining. Some action on the issue of insurance redlining is expected in the 1980's.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The experiences of the 1970's relevant to the housing of black Americans reinforced the civil rights movement adage that you can't legislate morality. We have also learned that you can't legislate either responsibility or responsiveness. Hindsight has taught us that, though the legislative struggles are intense, they loom small when compared to the battles that must be fought to ensure the enforcement of legislation. This is what the struggle of the 1970's for equal opportunity (a key to improved conditions) for low-income and black Americans has been all about.

Black Americans have been bruised by the economic downturn of the 1970's in terms of their ability to continue to afford and to retain the housing acquired up to that point. We were once again displaced from our residences but this time it was largely by private market forces coalescing under the banner of revitalization. We were briefly distracted by the controversy in federal policy over the two goals of neighborhood stabilization and spatial deconcentration. We have learned that spatial deconcentration may neither enhance the realization of equal opportunity in housing nor achieve the locational and situational advantages that suburban residence is said to impart. As well, spatial deconcentration usually has a destabilizing effect upon low-income and black neighborhoods.

Black America was confronted with evidence that the federal government has lost the interest and willingness to be a "doer" and instead wants to primarily be a goal setter and a regulator in the housing arena. This evidence was used to mount another attack upon those forces and systems that stand in between us and equal opportunity in housing. The NUL and other civil rights organizations brought suit against the federal financial regulatory agencies to demand that they live up to the letter of the law in regard to the practices of the institutions they regulate. Though the suit was largely successful it remains to be seen what real changes will result in its aftermath.

In the 1980's, black Americans need to prod the federal government into vigorously assuming one of the roles it has indicated it prefers -- that of a goal setter for federal housing programs. The federal government needs to be made to set policy goals more affirmatively and equitably, as it can do, and to reduce the ambivalence that crops up so often in its posture toward black Americans.

The issues of the 1970's have crystallized for black Americans, and those in the 1980's can be just over the horizon. The challenges remain pretty clear. Our task remains to rise to the occasions.

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Footnotes

[1] See "Housing" Chapter in National Urban League, Inc., The State of Black America 1978, January 17, 1978.

[2] J. M. Gries and J. Ford, eds., Negro Housing, Vol. VI of the Report on the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Press, 1932), p. 52.

[3] David R. Kaminsky, "Shelter and Neighborhoods: Inidcators of Physical Deterioration in Cities," in Occasional Papers in Housing and Community Affairs, Volume IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), p. 133.

[4] Ibid., pp. 133 and 136

[5] Christopher G. Wye and Eric L. Stowe, "Introduction: Urban America in the Late 1970's," in Occasional Papers in Housing and Community Affairs, Volume IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), p. 10.

[6] Michael Sumichrast, Gopal Ahluwalia, and Robert J. Sheehan cite the percentage that two earner families were of all new home buyers in 1978 as 48.2 childless couples were 29.8 percent of all new home buyers. See p. 49 of Profile of a New Home Buyer: 1978 Survey of New Home Owners (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Home Builders, 1979).

[7] Ronald E. Wienk, Clifford E. Reid, John C. Simonson, and Frederick J. Eggers, Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Market Practices Survey (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979).

[8] The Federal Fair Housing Enforcement Effort (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1979), p.ii.

[9] Ibid., p.6

[10] See "Introduction" in National Urban League, Inc., The State of Black America 1978, January 17, 1978.

[11] See "Housing" chapter in National Urban League, Inc., The State of Black America 1978, January 17, 1978 for a discussion of the UDAG program and the "National Urban Policy" chapter in National Urban League, Inc., The State of Black America 1979, January 17, 1979.

[12] Lawrence H. Thompson, "Metropolitan Employment Suburbanization as a Rationale for Housing Policy Interventions: A Statement of the Argument and Review of the Evidence," in Housing in the Seventies: Working Papers, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 406-420.

[13] Ibid., p. 415.

[14] T. D. Allman, "The Urban Crisis Leaves Town," Harper's (December 1978), p. 53.

[15] The following works suggest that black suburbanization of a certain sort will occur in the near future.

Harold L. Bunce, et.al., "Families and Households: Indications of Continuing Need," in Occasional Papers in Housing and Community Affairs, Volume IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), p. 116.

Kathryn P. Nelson, Recent Suburbanization of Blacks: How Much, Who, and Where (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979).

Harold Rose, "The All Black Town: Suburban Prototype or Rural Slum?" in People and Politics in the Urban Society, Vol. VI, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, ed. by Harlan Hahn(Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), p. 406.

[16] Eric L. Stowe, "Issues in the Late 1970's: A Metropolitan Perspective," in Occasional Papers in Housing and Community Affairs, Vol. IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), p. 179.

[17] Bruce De Silva, "Profiteering on Housing: R. I. Politicians, Friends Capitalize on HUD Program for Poor," The Washington Post, October 7, 1979, p. A18.

[18] Harold Rose, Op.cit.

[19] Harold Rose, Op.Cit., p. 418

[20] Eric L. Stowe, Op.Cit.

TABLE 1

Shelter Affordability by Race and Tenure for U.S. Total, 1970-1977

	OWNERS		RENTERS	
	Median Value-Income Ratios	Percent Owners	Median Gross Rent as Percent of Income	Percent Renters
Blacks				
1970	1.7	41.6	23	58.4
1973	1.5-1.9	43.4	20-24	56.6
1974	1.5-1.9	43.9	20-24	56.1
1975	1.9	43.8	25	56.2
1976	2.0	43.7	26	56.3
1977	2.0	43.6	27	56.4
All Races				
1970	1.8	62.9	20	37.1
1973	2.0-2.4	64.4	20-24	35.6
1974	2.0-2.4	64.6	20-24	35.4
1975	2.1	64.6	23	35.4
1976	2.2	64.7	24	35.3
1977	2.3	64.8	25	35.2

NA-not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from the 1970 Census of Housing and from the 1973-1977 Annual Housing Surveys.

Table 2

Housing Amenities by Race and Tenure for U.S. Total, 1970-1977

	Percent of Units With Air-Conditioning	Percent of Units With More Than One Complete Bath	Percent of Units 10 yrs. Old or Less	Median No. of Rooms	Percent in Single-Family Units
Renters-Blacks[1]					
1970	13.3	4.8	13.8	4.0	38.0
1973	21.0	6.1	14.8	4.1	36.6
1974	22.9	7.1	15.7	4.0	34.2
1975	25.2	9.1	18.3	4.0	33.6
1976	27.1	8.7	9.5	4.0	32.5
1977	*	8.4	10.5	4.0	30.7
Renters-All Races					
1970	31.2	10.5	22.5	4.0	36.2
1973	41.3	11.1	23.1	4.0	34.2
1974	43.2	12.0	23.7	4.0	33.7
1975	43.1	12.9	26.3	4.0	32.9
1976	44.3	13.5	14.3	4.0	32.5
1977	*	13.7	16.2	4.0	31.1
Owners-Blacks[1]					
1970	32.1	21.9	18.5	5.5	88.3
1973	38.0	26.6	17.2	5.5	88.9
1974	42.9	30.4	19.0	5.5	88.5
1975	44.6	32.3	19.9	5.6	88.5
1976	45.9	33.6	12.3	5.6	88.7
1977	*	36.3	14.4	5.6	88.7

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 2

Housing Amenities by Race and Tenure for U.S. Total, 1970-1977

	Percent of Units With Air-Conditioning	Percent of Units With More Than One Complete Bath	Percent of Units 10 yrs. Old or Less	Median No. of Rooms	Percent in Single-Family Units
Owners-All Races					
1970	39.9	38.5	26.3	5.6	89.0
1973	55.6	42.1	24.0	5.7	87.7
1974	54.6	45.1	25.5	5.7	87.4
1975	54.7	46.4	27.2	5.7	88.2
1976	56.8	48.0	16.3	5.7	88.0
1977	*	49.7	19.1	5.8	88.1

*Data not available by tenure of unit

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1960 and 1970 Censuses of Housing and from the 1973-1977 Annual Housing Surveys.

Table 3

Housing Disamenities by Race and Tenure for U.S. Total, 1970-1977

	Percent of Units Lacking Some or All Plumbing	Percent of Units With 1.01 or More Persons Per Room	Percent of Units Built Before 1939	Percent of Units Without Central Heat	Percent of Units With Shared or No Bath	Percent of Units With Shared or No Kitchen
Renters-Blacks						
1970	17.6	22.2	52.8	41.8	19.2	12.4
1973	11.3	14.5	51.3	31.1	11.9	9.0
1974	11.1	13.3	50.9	30.2	11.6	8.8
1975	10.0	13.2	47.8	29.7	10.8	8.2
1976	9.8	11.6	46.8	29.3	10.2	6.5
1977	9.1	11.9	46.1	27.1	9.5	6.8
Renters-All Races						
1970	7.9	10.6	48.2	27.8	9.2	5.2
1973	5.8	7.0	45.3	20.0	6.8	4.3
1974	5.4	6.9	44.8	19.5	6.1	4.3
1975	4.8	6.7	43.0	19.2	6.7	3.9
1976	4.6	6.2	42.6	18.9	5.2	3.6
1977	4.2	6.2	41.5	18.4	4.9	3.3

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 3

Housing Disamenities by Race and Tenure for U.S. Total, 1970-1977

	Percent of Units Lacking Some or All Plumbing	Percent of Units With 1.01 or More Persons Per Room	Percent of Units Built Before 1939	Percent of Units Without Central Heat	Percent of Units With Shared or No Bath	Percent of Units With Shared or No Kitchen
Owners-Blacks						
1970	14.4	15.5	42.7	43.0	15.3	9.8
1973	9.5	11.5	38.4	30.1	9.8	6.4
1974	7.6	11.8	37.4	29.3	8.2	5.3
1975	7.0	10.9	35.8	28.3	7.2	4.4
1976	5.8	9.4	36.3	28.1	6.0	3.8
1977	5.5	9.2	34.2	26.9	5.4	3.5
Owners-All Races						
1970	4.2	6.4	35.7	18.5	4.8	2.0
1973	2.3	4.8	31.4	12.5	2.9	1.1
1974	2.0	4.5	30.2	12.1	2.4	1.1
1975	1.8	4.0	29.3	12.0	2.0	0.9
1976	1.5	3.7	28.8	11.4	1.8	0.8
1977	1.4	3.4	27.7	11.6	1.7	0.8

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1960 and 1970 Censuses of Housing and from the 1973-1977 Annual Housing Surveys.

Table 4

Black Households as Percentage of all Households in 1970 and in Annual Housing Survey Year

	Percent Black Households in 1970	Year in Annual Housing SMSA Surveys	Percent Black Households in AHS Year
Washington, D.C.	62.4	1974	65.6
Atlanta, Ga.	43.8	1975	55.0
St. Louis, Mo.	33.9	1976	37.1
Philadelphia, Pa.	30.4	1975	33.6
Houston, Tex.	22.9	1976	24.1
Indianapolis, Ind.	16.1	1976	18.4
Los Angeles, Calif.[1]	15.1	1974	15.2
Seattle, Wash.[2]	6.0	1976	7.3

[1] Figures reflect central cities of both Los Angeles and Long Beach

[2] Figures reflect central cities of both Seattle and Everett though overwhelming majority of blacks in SMSA are residents of Seattle

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Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing and in the 1974, 1975, and 1976 Annual Housing Surveys.

Table 5

Characteristics of Housing in
Washington, D.C. 1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**	**All Races**	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**
Renters	188,500	118,900	63.1	180,000	119,900	66.6
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	106,000	59,200	55.9
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	109,000	60,700	55.7
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	7,000	6,100	87.1
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	19,900	16,300	81.9
Units lacking some or all plumbing	3,500	2,500	71.4	3,000	2,200	73.3
Units with $\geq$ 1.01 persons per room	26,800	23,600	88.1	13,800	12,400	89.9
Units with shared or no bathroom	4,400	3,100	70.5	4,800	3,000	62.5
Units with shared or no kitchen	4,300	2,300	53.5	3,600	2,100	58.3
Units with 2 or more complete baths	10,400	4,100	39.4	10,100	4,100	40.6
Units with air-conditioning	88,417	37,720	42.7	103,400	54,500	52.7
In single-family units	31,900	24,300	76.2	29,000	21,400	73.8
Median rent-income ratio	20-24	20-24	-	20-24	20-24	-
Median number of rooms	3.3	3.5	-	3.4	3.7	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 5

Characteristics of Housing in Washington, D.C. 1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	74,100	44,900	60.6	77,700	49,300	63.5
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	70,000	42,900	61.3
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	61,200	35,600	58.2
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	900	700	77.8
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	4,200	3,000	71.4
Units lacking some or all plumbing	400	200	50.0	100	100	100.0
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	4,600	4,200	91.3	2,700	2,500	92.6
Units with shared or no bathroom	500	400	80.0	500	500	100.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	300	200	66.7	300	100	33.3
Units with 2 or more complete baths	26,300	10,500	39.9	26,900	11,200	41.6
Units with air-conditioning	44,460	22,529	50.7	56,500	32,500	57.5
In single-family units	66,700	42,200	63.3	70,000	47,400	67.7
Median value-income ratio	1.5-1.9	1.5-1.9	-	2.0-2.4	1.5-1.9	-
Median number of rooms	6.2	5.5	-	6.3	5.5	-

NA - not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1974 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 6

Characteristics of Housing in Atlanta, Ga.
1970 & 1975

	1970			1975		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Renters	95,600	44,400	46.4	87,000	50,200	57.7
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	49,500	23,900	48.3
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	51,300	25,400	49.5
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	18,000	12,100	67.2
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	11,000	8,500	77.3
Units lacking some or all plumbing	2,500	1,600	64.0	1,400	1,000	71.4
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	12,800	9,700	75.8	5,900	4,800	81.4
Units with shared or no bathroom	3,400	2,300	67.7	2,000	1,300	65.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	2,300	1,100	47.8	1,700	1,300	76.5
Units with 2 or more complete baths	5,200	900	17.3	5,500	2,400	43.6
Units with air-conditioning	33,042	5,675	17.2	41,100	16,900	41.1
In single-family units	19,800	10,400	52.5	15,100	9,200	60.9
Median rent-income ratio	22	23	-	24	24	-
Median number of rooms	3.8	3.9	-	3.9	4.0	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 6

Characteristics of Housing in Altanta, Ga.
1970 & 1975

	1970			1975		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	66,700	26,600	39.9	61,300	31,400	51.2
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	52,000	24,700	47.5
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	46,900	22,300	47.6
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	8,400	4,700	56.0
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	5,100	2,400	47.1
Units lacking some or all plumbing	600	300	50.0	100	100	100.0
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	4,300	3,400	79.1	3,100	2,700	87.1
Units with shared or no bathroom	800	400	50.0	400	100	25.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	300	200	66.7	200	100	50.0
Units with 2 or more complete baths	21,400	4,600	21.5	21,700	7,200	33.2
Units with air-conditioning	30,524	6,569	21.5	36,300	14,600	40.2
In single-family units	61,600	25,000	40.6	57,600	30,000	52.1
Median value-income ratio	1.9	2.0	-	2.2	2.1	-
Median number of rooms	6.0	5.8	-	6.1	5.9	-

NA - not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1975 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 7

Characteristics of Housing in St. Louis, Mo.
1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**	**All Races**	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**
Renters	128,200	50,300	39.2	101,400	42,200	41.6
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	56,900	16,800	29.5
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	55,000	15,800	27.8
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	21,400	12,000	56.1
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	11,000	7,200	65.5
Units lacking some or all plumbing	9,600	4,500	46.9	4,900	2,100	42.9
Units with $\geq$ 1.01 persons per room	18,100	11,200	61.9	8,100	5,900	72.8
Units with shared or no bathroom	12,400	5,400	43.6	5,900	2,400	40.7
Units with shared or no kitchen	3,600	1,200	33.3	2,400	1,200	50.0
Units with 2 or more complete baths	3,400	1,400	41.2	4,200	2,000	47.6
Units with air-conditioning	47,102	11,704	24.9	54,300	17,900	33.0
In single-family units	14,300	6,300	44.1	10,900	5,200	47.7
Median rent-income ratio	21	23	-	23	26	-
Median number of rooms	3.5	3.7	-	3.6	3.8	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 7

Characteristics of Housing in St. Louis, Mo.
1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	87,300	22,800	26.1	83,200	26,200	31.5
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	66,200	16,400	24.8
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	57,400	11,600	20.2
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	13,600	6,700	49.3
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	31,100	3,300	10.6
Units lacking some or all plumbing	1,900	600	31.6	500	200	40.0
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	8,500	4,000	47.1	4,700	2,900	61.7
Units with shared or no bathroom	2,700	700	25.9	800	200	25.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	400	200	50.0	300	-	-
Units with 2 or more complete baths	10,100	3,700	36.6	11,000	4,700	42.7
Units with air-conditioning	50,808	10,162	20.0	63,300	17,400	27.5
In single-family units	64,400	15,000	23.3	63,700	19,000	29.8
Median value-income ratio	1.5	1.5	-	1.7	1.5	-
Median number of rooms	4.9	5.2	-	5.2	5.5	-

NA - not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, _Metropolitan Housing Characteristics_ and in the 1976 _Annual Housing Survey_.

Table 8

Characteristics of Housing in Philadelphia, Pa.
1970 & 1975

	1970			1975		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Renters	258,500	102,700	39.7	237,300	99,600	42.0
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	145,700	44,400	30.5
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	142,000	38,000	26.8
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	50,600	27,200	53.8
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	23,700	14,000	59.1
Units lacking some or all plumbing	8,100	3,600	44.4	6,200	3,400	54.8
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	20,900	13,400	64.1	12,900	8,600	66.7
Units with shared or no bathroom	14,600	7,100	48.6	8,800	5,000	56.8
Units with shared or no kitchen	6,800	2,500	36.8	6,600	2,500	37.9
Units with 2 or more complete baths	11,300	3,200	28.3	13,400	3,700	27.6
Units with air-conditioning	91,757	13,499	14.7	108,800	21,400	19.7
In single-family units	77,400	40,100	51.8	64,700	36,700	56.7
Median rent-income ratio	21	22	-	24	25	-
Median number of rooms	3.7	4.1	-	3.8	4.2	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 8

Characteristics of Housing in Philadelphia, Pa.
1970 & 1975

	1970			1975		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	383,600	92,500	24.1	369,100	104,000	28.2
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	315,000	73,600	23.4
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	269,100	52,100	19.4
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	66,200	25,600	38.7
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	23,300	12,100	51.9
Units lacking some or all plumbing	3,400	900	26.5	3,700	300	8.1
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	17,200	5,800	33.7	13,200	4,400	33.3
Units with shared or no bathroom	8,800	2,200	25.0	5,100	900	17.7
Units with shared or no kitchen	1,200	500	41.7	1,100	500	45.5
Units with 2 or more complete baths	52,400	11,900	22.7	58,300	14,770	25.3
Units with air-conditioning	193,206	31,558	16.3	250,400	48,300	19.3
In single-family units	357,500	84,900	23.8	350,300	99,400	28.4
Median value-income ratio	1.5	1.5	-	1.7	1.5	-
Median number of rooms	6.1	6.2	-	6.1	6.2	-

NA - not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1975 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 9

Characteristics of Housing in Houston, Texas
1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**	**All Races**	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**
Renters	186,300	49,700	26.7	253,500	62,800	24.5
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	160,400	29,400	18.3
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	170,400	30,700	18.0
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	60,100	21,300	35.4
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	22,100	8,900	40.3
Units lacking some or all plumbing	4,700	2,500	53.2	2,500	700	28.0
Units with ≥1.01 persons per room	23,600	11,100	47.0	18,700	7,000	37.4
Units with shared or no bathroom	6,500	3,400	52.3	3,000	900	30.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	3,900	1,400	35.9	3,500	1,800	51.4
Units with 2 or more complete baths	16,900	900	5.3	42,200	2,700	6.4
Units with air-conditioning	126,803	16,725	13.2	207,800	38,900	18.7
In single-family units	77,000	28,200	36.6	63,800	23,300	36.5
Median rent-income ratio	21	24	-	22	24	-
Median number of rooms	3.9	4.0	-	3.8	3.9	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 9

Characteristics of Housing in Houston, Texas 1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	207,100	40,200	19.4	209,500	48,900	23.3
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	175,700	35,200	20.0
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	162,100	30,500	18.8
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	36,300	12,100	33.3
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	12,900	4,500	34.5
Units lacking some or all plumbing	2,500	1,500	60.6	800	400	50.0
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	15,800	6,400	40.5	12,200	5,500	45.1
Units with shared or no bathroom	3,100	1,700	54.8	1,000	400	40.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	1,000	600	60.0	600	300	50.0
Units with 2 or more complete baths	75,900	4,400	5.8	85,200	10,100	11.9
Units with air-conditioning	177,748	26,735	15.0	192,600	40,700	21.1
In single-family units	197,500	39,200	19.9	202,500	48,400	23.9
Median value-income ratio	1.5	1.6	-	1.8	1.6	-
Median number of rooms	5.7	5.4	-	5.8	5.5	-

NA - not available

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1976 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 10

Characteristics of Housing in Indianapolis, Indiana
1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Renters	91,200	19,400	21.3	103,100	23,500	22.8
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	68,500	11,400	16.6
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	68,300	12,100	17.7
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	18,900	5,300	28.0
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	7,700	3,300	42.9
Units lacking some or all plumbing	4,600	1,400	30.4	3,300	1,100	33.3
Units with $\geq$ 1.01 persons per room	8,400	3,300	39.3	4,200	1,800	42.9
Units with shared or no bathroom	5,500	1,600	29.1	3,500	1,200	34.3
Units with shared or no kitchen	2,500	300	12.0	1,500	500	33.3
Units with 2 or more complete baths	3,900	400	10.3	9,900	700	7.1
Units with air-conditioning	34,985	1,925	5.5	62,100	8,600	13.9
In single-family units	28,700	6,800	23.7	33,500	8,300	24.8
Median rent-income ratio	20	22	-	21	24	-
Median number of rooms	4.0	4.0	-	4.0	4.0	-

Table Continued on Next Page

Table 10

Characteristics of Housing in Indianapolis, Indiana
1970 & 1976

	1970			1976		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	144,500	18,600	12.9	146,000	22,400	15.3
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	127,800	16,200	12.7
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	114,400	12,600	11.0
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	22,400	6,000	26.8
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	7,500	2,200	29.3
Units lacking some or all plumbing	2,600	400	15.4	500	200	40.0
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	10,400	2,700	26.0	5,200	2,000	38.5
Units with shared or no bathroom	3,300	500	15.2	800	300	37.5
Units with shared or no kitchen	500	100	20.0	200	*	*
Units with 2 or more complete baths	27,000	1,900	7.0	31,700	2,900	9.2
Units with air-conditioning	64,882	4,910	7.8	98,500	11,600	11.8
In single-family units	133,600	16,700	12.5	138,300	20,400	14.8
Median value-income ratio	1.5	1.5	-	1.6	1.5	-
Median number of rooms	5.4	5.4	-	5.5	5.4	-

NA - not available

* - entries are zero or rounded to zero

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1976 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 11

Characteristics of Housing in Los Angeles, Calif.
1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**	**All Races**	**Blacks**	**Percent Black**
Renters	688,000	120,700	17.5	702,800	119,700	17.0
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	449,000	57,300	12.8
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	435,600	52,800	12.1
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	**	**	**
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	68,400	21,800	31.9
Units lacking some or all plumbing	15,300	2,300	15.0	8,500	1,600	18.8
Units with ≥1.01 persons per room	66,100	17,600	26.6	57,100	10,300	18.0
Units with shared or no bathroom	21,200	3,200	15.1	13,000	2,000	15.4
Units with shared or no kitchen	28,100	3,200	11.4	23,200	2,600	11.2
Units with 2 or more complete baths	57,100	3,900	6.8	82,500	8,200	9.9
Units with air-conditioning	147,319	6,026	4.1	205,500	11,200	5.5
In single-family units	158,600	43,500	27.4	194,200	45,700	23.5
Median rent-income ratio	20-24	25-34	-	20-24	25-34	-
Median number of rooms	3.4	3.7	-	3.4	3.7	-

Table continued on next page

Table 11

Characteristics of Housing in Los Angeles, Calif.
1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	482,000	55,900	11.6	485,700	61,400	12.6
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	426,100	44,700	10.5
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	391,200	34,600	8.8
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	**	**	**
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	40,600	9,500	23.4
Units lacking some or all plumbing	2,000	200	10.0	700	200	28.6
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	27,500	6,400	23.3	18,400	3,100	16.9
Units with shared or no bathroom	3,000	400	13.3	2,000	400	20.0
Units with shared or no kitchen	1,100	300	27.3	200	*	*
Units with 2 or more complete baths	193,000	8,100	4.2	226,800	14,800	6.5
Units with air-conditioning	156,989	4,464	2.8	175,500	7,500	4.3
In single-family units	436,700	50,500	11.6	452,200	58,100	12.9
Median value-income ratio	2.0-2.4	2.0-2.4	-	2.0-2.4	2.0-2.4	-
Median number of rooms	5.5	5.3	-	5.5	5.3	-

NA - not available

* - entries are zero or round to zero.

** - to be published by the Annual Housing Survey at a later date.

[1] Reported for Los Angeles only

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the 1970 Census of Housing Metropolitan Housing Characteristics and in the 1974 Annual Housing Survey.

Table 12

Characteristics of Housing in Seattle, Washington
1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Renters	101,900	6,500	6.4	103,500	9,200	8.9
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	70,800	4,700	6.6
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	77,100	4,800	6.2
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	17,300	2,000	11.6
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	5,300	1,100	20.8
Units lacking some or all plumbing	7,000	400	5.7	4,200	200	4.8
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	3,800	500	13.2	2,100	300	14.3
Units with shared or no bathroom	8,100	500	6.2	4,800	300	6.3
Units with shared or no kitchen	4,600	300	6.5	2,900	-	-
Units with 2 or more complete baths	4,000	200	5.0	4,700	200	4.3
Units with air-conditioning	2,306	193	8.4	1,500	100	6.7
In single-family units	26,100	2,000	7.7	25,000	2,500	10.0
Median rent-income ratio	24	28	-	24	24	-
Median number of rooms	3.3	3.7	-	3.4	3.8	-

Table continued on next page

Table 12

Characteristics of Housing in Seattle, Washington 1970 & 1974

	1970			1974		
	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black	All Races	Blacks	Percent Black
Owners	123,000	6,100	5.0	119,300	7,000	5.9
With excellent/good opinion of structure	NA	NA	-	106,800	5,400	5.1
With excellent/good opinion of neighborhood	NA	NA	-	104,500	5,100	4.9
With undesirable neighborhood conditions/wish to move	NA	NA	-	11,100	900	8.1
With inadequate neighborhood services/wish to move	NA	NA	-	3,100	300	10.0
Units lacking some or all plumbing	1,000	*	*	*	*	*
Units with ≥ 1.01 persons per room	3,800	500	13.2	1,300	200	15.4
Units with shared or no bathroom	1,300	100	7.7	300	-	-
Units with shared or no kitchen	300	-	-	200	-	-
Units with 2 or more complete baths	26,500	800	3.0	32,500	1,400	4.3
Units with air-conditioning	6,344	416	6.6	5,200	500	9.6
In single-family units	115,600	5,700	4.9	112,300	6,600	5.9
Median value-income ratio	1.9	1.9	-	2.1	1.9	-
Median number of rooms	5.6	5.7	-	5.9	6.0	-

NA - not available

* - entries are zero or round to zero

[1] Data for units with air-conditioning are for Seattle only in 1970. The data from 1974 is for the central cities of Seattle and Everett though the preponderance of blacks are in Seattle.

ON POLITICS

By

Charles V. Hamilton

I. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: GOOD, BAD, MIXED

Any assessment of politics and the status of black Americans in these times necessarily contains a mixture of good news and bad news, as well as news not easily identifiable as belonging in either category. If one looks at the results of electoral politics in recent years, generally, and in 1979, specifically, the view will reveal advances and set-backs. Inasmuch as politics is a process the impact of which might not be felt for some time, it is possible to come away both heartened and disheartened. For example, it does not take an especially astute observer to conclude that the election of a black mayor in Birmingham, Alabama, must be seen as particularly significant. In a city which, only a few years before, many characterized as the "Johannesburg of the United States," to find City Councilman Richard Arrington, a 45-year-old black educator-elected mayor with 52% of the vote is important. In a city not yet with a black majority population, Arrington needed and received crucial white votes.

To be sure, he needed a heavy black voter turnout and most whites voted for the white candidate. To be sure, there were racial undercurrents in the campaign. An advertisement shortly before the October election attempted to suggest that a black mayor of Birmingham would lead that city down the road to increased crime, which was, so the advertisement intimated, the Atlanta experience: "Do you, the Birmingham voters, wish to be where Atlanta is two years from now?"

This subtle form of appealing to racist instincts was unsuccessful, and Arrington proclaimed that the voters had "rejected a campaign based on fear."

But as could be expected, black candidates did not enjoy universal success in their electoral bids. Racial overtones marked the mayoral election in Memphis with cross burnings and racially motivated vandalism, and a racially polarized city saw the defeat of a black candidate.

One must continue to expect that black candidates will face a white electorate apprehensive about the consequences of black rule, notwithstanding substantial evidence throughout the decade that such political rule does not bring oppression of whites. The fear is deeply embedded, and it will take more time than has yet passed to overcome the impact of revived Ku Klux Klan marches and lingering racial hatred. But the Birmingham experience is nonetheless a most significant achievement.

Other developments involving political structural changes have occurred.

As a result of Justice Department action, Houston, Texas changed from electing its city council (14 members)"at-large" to a system whereby nine members would be elected from local districts. Such changes invariably permit greater minority'representation in decision-making bodies and increase the bargaining power of previously excluded groups. It is too soon to say with any degree of certainty precisely what benefits will be derived from such changes (most notably in Fort Worth and San Antonio), but the important step of making election to office more likely has been taken in several places. One account concluded: "In Fort Worth, the number of minority city council members increased dramatically after the 1975 charter revision. (1977) saw two blacks and one Mexican American (the council's first) among those elected from the city's eight districts. In 1979, the same pattern was repeated."[1]

Several Hypotheses Examined

There are a number of hypotheses about the impact of changed electoral structures on political participation. Some suggest that more people will take an interest in politics, that more candidates will run for office. Empirical studies are beginning to provide some insight. "No clear evidence appears as yet of a long-term increase in minority and lower-income voting frequencies. There has been an increase in black representation in two of the three cities (Charlotte and Richmond, not Raleigh). There has been an increase in the proportion of candidates from clerical or blue-collar occupations, but such candidates still are rarely successful."[2]

Thus, results so far are mixed, and they further attest to the maxim that the political process is a protracted one, not always yielding immediate, discernible, tangible benefits. This is not unexpected, but it can contribute to a sense of frustration if not reasonably understood.

At the same time, we are beginning tp see some positive results from the election of blacks to public office and from black electoral participation -- results that can, in fact, be measured. One study of Alabama made available in 1979 reached the following conclusion:

> When counties are grouped by the size of their black electorates, those with black majorities show the highest average rates of black registration and total voter turnout, despite their very low levels of income and education. These counties taken together also manifest changes in social welfare policy consistent with the hypothesis that the content of public policy responds to changes in the electorate.... Once enfranchised, the voters sought to use their political influence to expand the supply of these goods (housing, health, welfare) and met among counties with substantial black electorates support a causal relationship between growth in black political participation and policy change: The greater the change in poli-

> tical mobilization, the greater the change in social welfare policy. ... The presence in the county of black elected officials increased the likelihood of program expansion, particularly in public housing and AFDC coverage.[3]

In other words, voting can and does make a difference. The difference might be ever so incremental, but we clearly have evidence to refute the often-heard argument: what difference does it make, implying, of course, the futility of voting. This is a lesson that must be repeated constantly!

Likewise, we are able to discern a clear change in the way many southern, white congressmembers behave in relation to civil rights issues. A recent study asked the specific question: "Are black voters or the threat of potential black voters influencing southern congressional voting on black rights issues?"[4] The study covered the period from 1965 through 1978, looking at voting on 25 measures in the House of Representatives by the legislators from the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. (Some examples of issues covered were: Equal Employment Opportunity, 1966; Antiriot Bill, 1967; increased appropriation for U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970; antiredlining bill, 1975; Consumer Credit Discrimination Act, 1976; Constitutional amendment giving District of Columbia full voting rights in Congress, 1978).

Changes have occurred, and in some cases they have been dramatic. For example, in the period from 1965 to 1972, congressional delegations from Alabama supported civil rights at a 6% rate; from 1973 to 1978, that support increased to 39.5%. Comparable figures for Arkansas are 22% to 52.5%; North Carolina, from 9% to 39%. Indeed, there has been an increase of civil rights support in every state delegation. From his research, Professor Mark Stern concluded: "The presence of the black population is now positively, if slightly, associated with civil rights support. Large proportions of black population are now associated with districts in which there have been recent vote changes in favor of civil rights legislation. ... The era of southern white racist voting in Congress is over for much of the South. ... The new political demography of the South forces politicians to recognize the black pupulation for purposes beyond race-baiting."[5]

II. "NETWORKING" AND THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

Much of politics is tedious, laborious and the critical but unglamorous work of applying pressure at the right place at the appropriate time. There are numerous ways of doing this. The Congressional Black Caucus, sensitive to the importance of numbers, devised what it called an Action Alert Communications System.

First unveiled at a meeting in Birmingham, Alabama in the Spring, 1979, the "plan of action" involved creating a "network" of organizations around the country that would be alerted to key matters pending before Congress. At the appropriate time, notice would be sent to groups in the "network" to request them to contact various congressional representatives to solicit their support for or against particular measures. The impetus for such an operation came from a study released by the National Leadership Roundtable. The study was done by the National Newspaper Publishers Association. It found that congressional legislators with substantial black constituents nonetheless voted against black interests an overwhelming percentage of the time despite, as previously noted, the substantial increase in the support civil rights measures receive from congressional delegations from the states of the Old Confederacy.

The meeting in Birmingham, called the Southern Regional Forum, led to organizing state-wide network systems. In addition, the Congres sional Black Caucus planned to meet and coordinate its efforts with the Black Leadership Froum, a group of 17 major civil rights leaders.

Even during its brief life in 1979, the Action Alert Network could point to some success. In conjunction with other groups, the "network" was able to forestall efforts to lift sanctions against Rhodesia. A progress report issued by the National Black Leadership Roundtable on September 22, 1979 stated: "Throughout the country, black Americans made known to their congressional Representatives and the White House their unified vocal support for the President's basic determination in opposition to the lifting of sanctions, which was being challenged in Congress."

The defeat of the Mottle anti-busing amendment by a 209-216 vote against (only 146 votes were needed to defeat it) was a victory of significance. "All 17 Caucus members were active in personally lobbying House members in opposition to the amendment, and the Caucus' national support network flooded congressional offices with mail opposing the Mottle Amendment," the Roundtable report said. Again, the effort was an example of successful coalition politics, with civil rights groups, labor unions, and liberal groups working together.

On balance, these activities demonstrate a growing sophistication of black political actors. The efforts are tedious, slow at times to yield results, but clearly necessary for sustained political effectiveness. To achieve many of the goals, it is necessary to seek allies and to form coalitions. This has been done. Much of this work is not the kind that constitutes front-page news stories or captures the attention millions of viewers of the evening television news; it is simply the laborious work that frequently achieves results in the American political process.

If the close of the decade of the 1970s has brought any lessons, certainly one is that black political action must pursue and perfect this essential aspect of the political process. There is, in fact, sufficient evidence to conclude that the lesson is being learned well.

III. THE ANDREW YOUNG AFFAIR

Undoubtedly, one of the most dramatic events of 1979 was the resignation of Andrew Young as United States Ambassador to the United Nations. Any year-end assessment must include a review of that episode and its implications. Black politics, as always, is accustomed to periodic events of sudden, highly volatile proportions. Young, in his capacity as incoming President of the United Nations Security Council, had met with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). When this meeting was publicized, it led to Young's resignation under circumstances which angered a vast segment of black Americans. Young had come to symbolize the growing involvement and influence of blacks in American foreign affairs. And his presence at the U. N. was of no small concern to many people. Some felt he was unduly treated and indeed reprimanded for his seemingly unauthorized conduct. His resignation precipitated a wave of activity which saw black individuals and groups criticizing American policy in the Middle East meetings with the PLO and Israeli representatives, trips to the troubled Middle East, and taking positions on international events.

A statement issued on August 22, 1979 by the Black Leadership Forum read, in part:

> Ambassador Young was a spearhead in opening doors that were previously closed to the United States. He was immensely successful in a role in which so many others were colorless or dismal failures. As a black person in an establishment

> controlled by whites and which historically has functioned for the advancement of whites only interests, he was color-blind. He pursued his mission as an American representing all people, not as a black American. His universal approach to some of the most difficult problems that increasingly have hampered this nation's foreign policy was refreshing...
>
> Nevertheless, the involvement of blacks and their concern in foreign policy questions is repeatedly questioned. Black American citizens deplore the arrogance that is implicit in this attitude. As a result, the treatment that was accorded Ambassador Young by the U.S. government, especially the State Department, was totally abhorrent. Black Americans strongly protest the callous, ruthless behavior of the United States State Department toward Ambassador Young.

Not unexpectedly, one of the emotional spin-offs of this episode was a debate between Jewish and black groups. Some Jewish groups were perceived as pressuring for Young's dismissal and this aroused more than a modest reaction from some black groups. Traditionally allies in the domestic civil rights struggle, leaders from both communities began to question the relationship as it evolved around the Young affair. Some Jewish leaders were offended when several blacks met with and embraced PLO representatives -- in this country and abroad. Some black leaders resented what they perceived to be Jewish pressure to prevent blacks from becoming participants in the Mideast controversy. The debate raged.

Debate of Sorts Created

When other black leaders questioned the wisdom of civil rights organizations identifying too closely with the PLO, this, in turn, created a debate of sorts in some segments of the black community. Such developments in the summer and fall of 1979 could, understandably, generate more heat than light. But one consequence was clear. Few responsible individuals or groups would deny that black Americans had both a right and a duty to engage in foreign policy discussions -- indeed, that such participation is the prerogative of any concerned group in the society. It is also certain, however, that there will likely not be complete unanimity on particular policies.

There is hardly one position of blacks toward the PLO, as surely there is not unanimity among Jews toward Israel's policies. Such an understanding requires that different groups will, in fact, differ on honorable grounds and ought to be accorded the respect their different arguments deserve. Seemingly a simple enough proposition, it was not at all times the case in the black/Jewish/PLO controversy. Those blacks who disapproved of dealing with the PLO were, at times, accused of being pressured into such a position by Jewish financial backers. The charges became sufficiently irritating to cause Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., to comment specifically on the matter in a speech at the University of Chicago on October 17, 1979:

> One of the most vicious distortions of the media in recent days has been the claim that black leaders' positions are being framed with monetary considerations in mind. That is a vile falsehood. Those who went to the Middle East did so out of a sincere effort to encourage peace. And those like myself who disapprove of dealings with the PLO do so out of concern for principle.
>
> But since the dollar sign has been raised aloft by the media, let's get the facts straight. The National Urban League has an operating budget of $6 million. Almost all of it comes from business, foundations and the government. Only $200,000 comes from individuals, and perhaps a fourth of that comes from identifiably Jewish contributions. Thus, less than one percent of our budget comes from the Jewish community. So principle, not money is the basis of our stand. We are not for sale!

Perhaps the more critical long-term issue that surfaced during this episode is one involving intra-group credibility and recognition of inevitable healthy diversity. Various black leaders and groups will, of necessity, find themselves positioned in different places in the

American system. This will, likewise, mean that they occupy different roles and even perceive particular solutions differently. Closer access to white corporate and government decision-makers should not be viewed as co-optation or capitulation. Such a veiw would be as damaging as the conclusion that those not in such positions are, by definition, rendered completely ineffective.

A division of labor, styles and roles will emerge from such a situation and this requires a level of political sophistication not always apparent in the 1979 Andrew Young episode. The nature of the black political struggle is such that to conclude otherwise is to engage in self-defeating propositions and strategies. Political success in a complex, multi-faceted system as is the American system means necessarily varying roles and approaches. To deny this and to eschew honest diversity is to foreclose one's political options. Hardly an advisable strategy in any socio-political struggle.

IV. BROADENING THE LEADERSHIP BASE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Related to this topic of leadership diversity is the fact that we are beginning to see more blacks moving into important appointive decision-making positions in the public and private sectors. They occupy high positions in the executive and judicial branches of government and in corporate ranks on the boards of corporations as well as in top managerial jobs. To be sure, the numbers are not overwhelming, but these slots -- while relatively few -- in some cases are critically located. For example, there is only one president of the Ford Foundation, and in 1979 that position went to a black man, Franklin Thomas. Hardly an insignificant development.

These are not elected public officials, but in time they will be understood to be influential in helping decide major issues affecting the country and the black communities. In this regard, the process is no different from that existing with other groups that function in this society. On boards of private corporations, governmental commissions and the like, they are strategically located to contribute to discussions, review data, make recommendations, and to help decide issues. This society makes such work eminently important, if not at all times highly visible, and as blacks move into such positions it should be understood that the potential for influence increases. Neither should one mistake this as outside the realm of the "political" in the broader sense of that term. Such positions provide access to decision-making that impinges on many aspects of society's economic and social affairs -- private and public.

Such developments are more difficult to measure in hard, quantifiable terms. It is difficult to measure precisely the impact of a corporate executive or board member at any given time, and sheer numbers of such persons in any one or few companies become less revealing than the qualitative work performed over time. But every such achievement should be noted (whether on the Interstate Commerce Commission or on the board of a major corporation or in a top managerial position) for the potential for exercising influence. Obviously, such roles carry with them considerable constraints, and expectations should not be excessive. But these roles constitute leadership in an important sense in "political" America, and, therefore, pressure should be continued to fill such positions with sensitive blacks whenever possible.

V. PUBLIC POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Turning to the more traditional and more easily measured form of political participation -- namely, voting -- one cannot be excessively heartened by black performance. Figure I indicates that the percentage of blacks of voting age who actually voted in presidential elections from 1964 to 1976 has declined: from 58% in 1964 to 49% in 1976. The decline also is manifested by region. The same is true, as shown, for whites. But here is an area of activity where, it should be emphasized, blacks have it within their own power to close the "racial gap."

One important factor noted in Table I is the positive corelation between education and voter participation. "Voter turnout tends to increase as the educational levels increase. For example, in 1972, about 55% of blacks with four years of high school voted; the rate was about 80% for those with four years or more of college."[6]

As one would expect, middle-age blacks vote more than the young or elderly (Table II). These figures would suggest an especial need to exert effort among young black citizens to get them to register and to vote.

There is no unknowable, magic formula for motivating people politically. In his essay in last year's The State of Black America, Eddie N. Williams noted: "The fulfillment of black political aspirations, including the election of more officials, is dependent upon a sophisticated and aggressive electorate. In recent years the decline in black registration and voting has alarmed black leaders." He further wrote: "In many races (in 1978), the black vote was crucial to the election of white candidates and to the defeat of issues considered to be inimical to black interests."

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He cited several examples, and the Joint Center for Political Studies, under Williams' direction, subsequently issued a comprehensive report, Election '78: Implications For Black America, which specified those elections where the black vote made a difference in the outcome.

Frequently it is the case that apathy and cynicism can be overcome and people can be motivated to use the franchise. One political science proposition suggests: Where the process is perceived as related to the product sought, participation (in that process) will increase. That is, if people, in fact, believe that they will accomplish a specific goal if they vote, the likelihood of their engaging in the electoral process is enhanced. Thus, as Williams cited in his essay, black voters in Philadelphia did turn out to defeat a city charter revision proposal (and thereby deny Mayor Rizzo possibly another term in office). "Turnout was relatively high in areas where there were hotly contested elections with racial overtones."[7]

Unfortunately, of course, the electoral process does not easily yield immediate, observable results beyond the mere election or defeat of candidates. This is only the first step and it need not be related to subsequent policy outputs. But we should recall the studies mentioned in the first part of this essay that demonstrated in some places a definite relationship between electoral politics and rather particular policy outcomes. This does not always happen, obviously, and the evidence that suggest it is not occurring is abundant. Thus, voters become frustrated, alienated and they withdraw from the process. If a "sophisticated and aggressive electorate" means anything, however, it means persistence in a protracted process and learning how to hold public officials accountable. Therefore, it is important for voters to be as specific as possible in the demands they make of the candidates and as diligent as possible in monitoring their activities. In this sense, the "networking" system discussed earlier must be intimately related to voter registration drives and to turn-out-the-vote efforts. This is all a part of the process of "political socialization." And this is particularly necessary for young people who have never voted and for low-income minority citizens who have every reason to suspect a political process that has not been especially productive for them.

If this is not unknowable, neither is it easy to pull off. On the one hand, clear results must be demonstrated in order to motivate people to participate; on the other, there will likely be no favorable results unless people participate!

VI. GEARING UP FOR 1980

As could be expected, much of politics in 1979 was spent getting ready for presidential politics In 1980. With lengthening periods of campaigning, candidates entering more primaries, and with more Presidential aspirants entering the race from both major parties, attention focuses on Presidential electioneering. Here, again, one will notice no unanimity among black leaders -- and, again, it is not reasonable to expect such. Some black leaders (usually, it appears, those of civil rights groups and in the voluntary sector) would prefer to withhold support of any particular candidate as long as possible. This has the obvious advantage of causing the candidates to bid for the support. Other black leaders (frequently those in elected offices -- mayors, legislators--) tend to prefer endorsing early. This has the advantage of being identified early with a possible winner, which can have favorable political consequences later. With the close of 1979, we began to see these different approaches throughout the black communities. Again, one should not suspect that the process is really any different with other groups.

In 1980, blacks will likely adopt several different, but not particularly new, approaches to the coming Presidential election. There is discussion of a national conference to set forth a black political agenda of issues to be presented to both major parties and to the contenders. This was also done in 1976. There is planned a convention by the National Black Political Assembly (created in Gary, Indiana in 1972) pointing towards the possibility of an independent black political party and candidate.

In any case, the effectiveness of blacks on the 1980 Presidential electoral scene will turn around the turn out -- as simple and uncomplicated as that. If black citizens register and vote in the primaries and the general election and then proceed to hold the contestants accountable, there is sufficient reason to believe that we can see a relationship between process and product. To politicians who count votes, little else counts!

Footnotes

1. Charles L. Cotrell and Arnold Fleischmann, "The Change from At-Large to District Representation and Political Participation of Minority Groups in Fort Worth and San Antonio, Texas," Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 1979.

2. Robert J. Mundt, "Referenda in Charlotte and Raleigh, and Court Action in Richmond: Comparative Studies on the Revival of District Representation," Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August, 1979.

3. M. Elizabeth Sanders, "New Voters and New Policy Priorities in the Deep South: A Decade of Political Change in Alabama," Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August, 1979.

4. Mark Stern, "Southern Congressional Civil Rights Voting and the New Southern Demography," Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August, 1979.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790-1978.* (Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series p. 23. No. 80. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.).

7. Eddie N. Williams, "Black Political Participation in 1978," in *The State of Black America, 1979* (National Urban League, 1979).

Table 1

Reported Voter Participation of Persons of Voting Age by Years of School Completed for Presidential Elections: 1964, 1968, and 1972

(Numbers in thousands)

Years of school completed	Black			White		
	1964[1]	1968	1972	1964	1968	1972
PERSONS OF VOTING AGE						
All educational levels	11,187	10,935	13,493	92,122	104,521	121,243
Elementary: 0 to 4 years	3,435	1,540	1,400	12,246	4,273	3,774
5 to 7 years		1,869	1,708		7,729	7,253
8 years	1,211	1,149	1,248	14,190	13,556	12,349
High School: 1 to 3 years	2,431	2,645	3,177	16,928	17,637	18,906
4 years	2,267	2,489	4,037	32,605	36,898	46,248
College: 1 to 3 years	575	744	1,279	9,851	12,459	17,759
4 years	537	339	405	9,734	7,550	9,226
5 years or more		159	240		4,419	5,728
PERCENT OF VOTING AGE POPULATION WHO REPORTED THAT THEY VOTED						
All educational levels	57.6	57.6	52.1	76.1	69.1	64.5
Elementary: 0 to 4 years	43.4	39.4	35.9	53.4	38.7	32.2
5 to 7 years		53.2	48.5		52.4	43.5
8 years	62.8	53.7	52.1	67.3	63.3	55.6
High School: 1 to 3 years	61.7	56.3	46.9	65.9	62.2	53.1
4 years	70.8	65.3	55.3	76.5	73.1	66.5
College: 1 to 3 years	73.4	74.1	63.5	82.6	79.0	76.0
4 years	81.9	79.9	80.3	87.8	83.6	83.1
5 years or more		90.6	79.0		86.7	86.9

[1] Data include persons of "other" races.

NOTE: Data for 1964 include persons not reporting on education, not shown separately.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 2

Reported Voter Participation of Persons of Voting Age, by Age for Presidential Elections: 1964, 1968, and 1972

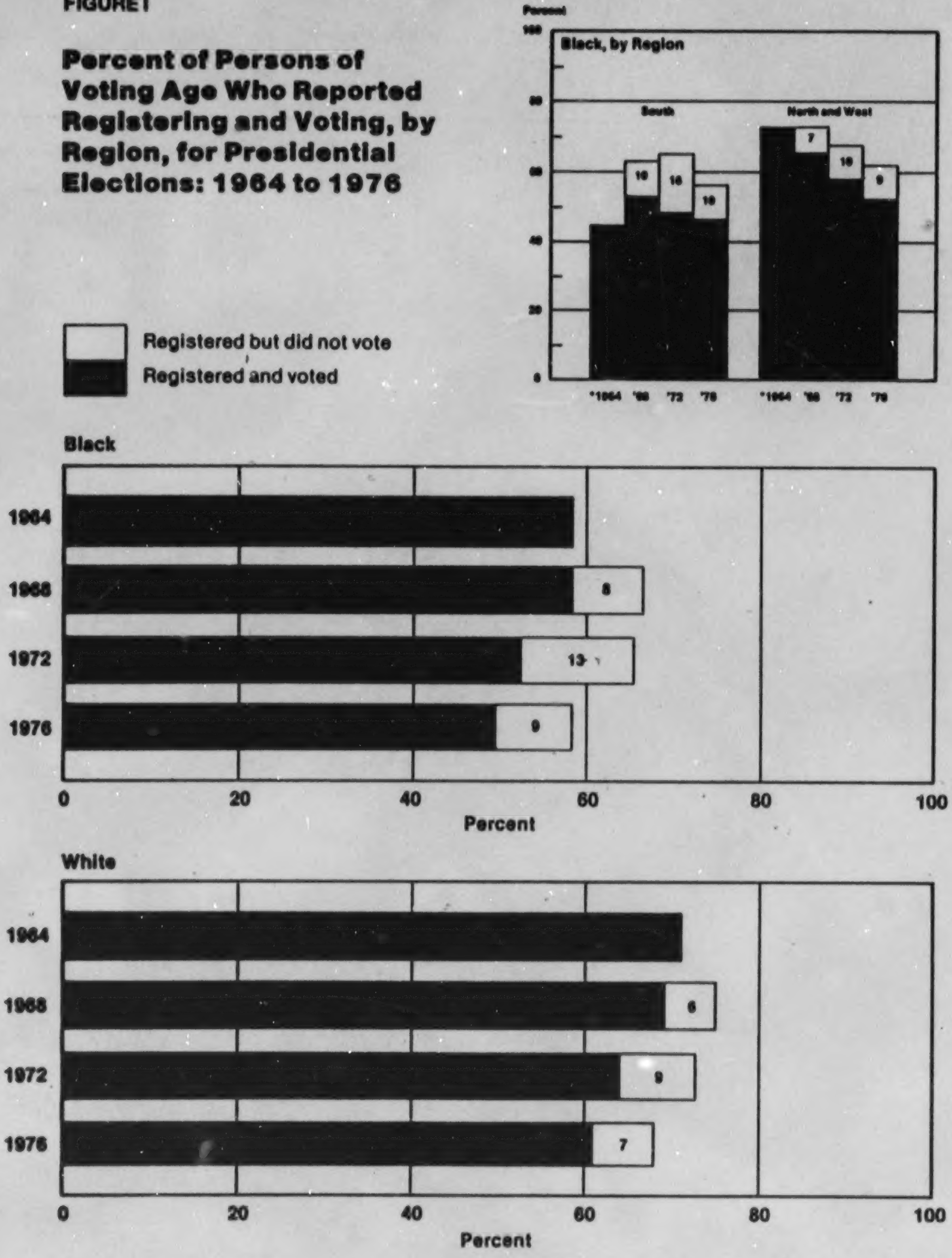
(Numbers in thousands)

Age	Black			White		
	1964	1968	1972	1964	1968	1972
PERSONS OF VOTING AGE						
Total, 18 years old and over.	10,340	10,935	13,493	99,353	104,521	121,243
18 to 24 years......................	1,115	1,255	2,994	8,715	9,820	21,339
25 to 44 years......................	4,596	4,713	5,180	40,196	40,855	43,394
45 to 64 years......................	3,364	3,515	3,707	34,519	36,519	38,201
65 years old and over.............	1,266	1,363	1,613	15,924	16,989	18,307
PERCENT OF VOTING AGE POPULATION WHO REPORTED THAT THEY VOTED						
Total, 18 years old and over.	58.5	57.6	52.1	70.7	69.1	64.5
18 to 24 years......................	44.2	38.9	34.7	52.1	52.8	51.9
25 to 44 years......................	61.5	60.3	55.6	70.1	67.7	64.0
45 to 64 years......................	64.1	64.5	61.9	77.2	76.1	71.9
65 years old and over.............	45.3	49.9	50.6	68.1	67.4	64.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

FIGURE I

Percent of Persons of Voting Age Who Reported Registering and Voting, by Region, for Presidential Elections: 1964 to 1976



*Includes persons of "other" races.

NOTE: Data for 1964 on persons who registered but did not vote are not available.

CRIME: A MAJOR PROBLEM IN BLACK AMERICA

BY

Garry A. Mendez, Jr.

I. PROBLEM

Given the large numbers of blacks involved in the criminal justice system as either victims or offenders it is critical that any major document discussing the State of Black America address crime as it relates to the black community.

Researchers, those involved in the administration of criminal justice and policy-makers have suggested a myriad of explanations when they consider the etiology of crime among blacks. However, the explanations seem to focus on three main hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS I

> The conditions in which blacks live account for their disproportionate involvement in the criminal justice system. Unemployment, poor education, bad housing inadequate health care and other negative socio-economic factors present in the black community contribute to the disparate involvement of blacks with crime. Proponents of this position make recommendations that focus on the correlates of crime as opposed to crime and the criminal justice system. They state that changing the socio-economic situation will solve the problem of the over-representation of blacks in crime.

HYPOTHESIS II

> There are individuals who have criminal minds and regardless of what society does, these people will commit crimes. Supporters of this position advocate incarceration of these individuals for an extended period of time as career criminals. They also have suggested the extensive use of drugs and operations, both designed to control or alter the criminal mind. The fact that so

> many of these criminal minds are attributed to blacks and the poor has not deterred its supporters or given rise to questions, when they suggest such methods of solving the problem of crime in America.

HYPOTHESIS III

> Racism is so ingrained in our nation that black people are unable to truly achieve equity in any area of the society. This inability to achieve that which is controlled by external forces causes the dilemma that until the problem of race is solved the problem of crime will go unsolved.

All three hypotheses have some validity and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The writer's position, however, is that there is a fourth hypothesis which is most critical for all black Americans. The remainder of this paper will focus upon that hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS IV

> Blacks appear to be disproportionately involved in crime because of the manner in which this society focuses its greatest attention on street crime---in which blacks are disproportionately represented--while virtually ingnoring 'white collar' crime--in which blacks are represented only minimally.

II. STREET AND WHITE COLLAR CRIME

In exploring this last hypothesis it is necessary to make clear the nature of street crime and white collar crime and the attitudes held toward both.

Street crime is usually attributed to the black and poor (i.e. robbery, mugging, murder, rape and assault). According to FBI crime statistics for 1978, urban blacks constituted 49.7 of all arrests for violent crimes and 32.7% of all arrests for property crime; thereby constituting 36% of all arrests.[1] On the other hand, white collar crime such as bribery, embezzlement, consumer fraud, corruption, etc., is committed primarily by whites. For example, in FBI statistics, whites constituted 72.4% of those arrested for embezzlement while blacks represented 26.2%.[2]

While the attention of the public, elected officials and the media is focused on street crime, white collar crime in America, which is committed by white middle and upper class people, goes virtually unchecked. This occurs despite the fact that it has been estimated by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce that white collar crime costs the nation as much as $200 billion a year as opposed to an estimated $88 billion for street crime.[3]

The punishment meted out to individuals convicted of the different categories of crime is also vastly different. Bank officials who steal hundreds of thousands of dollars from trusting depositors are let off with light fines and/or suspended sentences. On the other hand a poor black who steals several hundred dollars worth of property is sent to prison.

It is not the writer's intention to minimize the seriousness or explain away street crime, which directly affects the precious security of individuals and property, by drawing attention to the prevelance of white collar crime. Neither is it contended that people convicted of crime should not receive the appropriate punishment. At the same time, however, any rational discussion of crime in America must take account of the fact that while blacks are over-represented among those arrested and imprisoned for crime, they are not responsible for the majority of crime within this country, nor is their punishment always equal.

The critical point related to who commits white collar crime and who commits street crime is a matter of opportunity. Blacks for the most part do not commit white collar crime because they do not have the opportunity to commit this type of crime. It stands to reason that an individual regardless of race would prefer to embezzle monies where the potential physical risk factor is low as opposed to a robbery or other street crimes which present a much higher risk factor.

Little if any effort is made to draw information on white collar crime to the public's attention nor is the impact of these crimes exposed. On the other hand, the amount of street crime that blacks commit is not a secret since the news media focus on it on a daily basis. Their lead articles, whenever possible, dramatize the events surrounding a murder or some other violent act. They constantly bombard the reader or viewer with distorted information about the dangers of our city streets.

Recent data on crime, however, suggests that the so-called increased danger in the streets cannot be supported by facts. As an example the National Council on Crime and Delinquency recently published an article entitled "Social Forces and Crime", which revealed that during the period of 1969 through 1976 the serious index crime arrest rate has remained constant at around 20% of all arrests for all categories.[4] It should also be noted that the total number of arrests for all crimes has also remained more or less constant according to FBI crime statistics. Despite this fact, the public generally perceives crime as increasing. Thus perception has become a reality regardless of the fact.

This is not suggesting that one should condone the criminal activity that is present in our streets; however, one should be aware of the true situation. Furthermore, there is an important fact related to street crime that has not been publicized and that is the black victimization rates in street crime. (The term victimization refers to anyone who has been a victim of a crime against person or property.)

A victimization survey conducted for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1973, revealed that "blacks are more likely than whites to have been victims of personal crimes". The survey reported that black males had a victimization rate of 85 per 1,000 population as compared with that of 75 per 1,000 for white males. Furthermore, the same survey showed that blacks were more likely than whites to have been the victims of rape, robbery or assault. Similiary, black males were more likely than white males to have been the victims of aggravated assault.[5]

In respect to property crime, black households had a higher burglary rate (71.2 per 1,000 population) than white households (40.9 per 1,000 population) for all income groups. The same held true for larceny (58.7 per 1,000 population for blacks, 50.8 per 1,000 for whites). Also, blacks with incomes over $10,000 had a higher rate (20.3 per 1,000 population for blacks compared to 9.8 per 1,000 population for whites) of victimization for motor vehicle theft.[6]

An analysis of the above data by a former administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, led him to conclude that victimization surveys clearly point out the fact that "the typical crime victim is....black. He is a young black male - and a poor, undereducated black male at that".[7]

An extremely important point that emerges from the victimization survey data is, "the poorer a person is, the more likely he or she will become a crime victim".[8]

According to a report issued by the National Urban League's Research Department, approximately 40% of all blacks were in the low income bracket in 1977 as opposed to approximately 17% of whites.[9] This data makes it quite apparent that the streets are indeed unsafe....unsafe for poor black Americans.

III. INCARCERATION

In addition to narrowly defining crime by confining it to street crime so that any effort to attack it focuses on blacks, society has also reserved for blacks and the poor a special method of dealing with crime....incarceration.

Using the 1975 figures for population of the United States, 213,540,000, the data reveals that the U.S. per capita detention rate is 255 prisoners per 100,000 people in the population a figure that in itself is quite alarming. However, a closer analysis of the data discloses that the white per capita detention rate is 159.8 per 100,000 as opposed to the non-white rate of 888.4 per 100,000. The non-white rate is then 5½ times that of white rates.[10]

It should be noted that blacks have historically been excluded from alternative programs to incarceration such as diversion, restitution and weekend incarceration.

Furthermore, according to studies completed by Dr. Martin Gold of the University of Michigan, black and white youths commit the same kinds and amounts of juvenile offenses; however, the police do not treat both races in the same manner -- the black youth is more likely to be charged with an offense. This information is very critical because it is known that the earlier an individual enters the criminal justice system the longer that individual stays in the system.

Another method of examining these data is to investigate the cohorts of individuals most likely to be involved in "street crime". Basically young males are the largest group of prisoners. Approximately 75% of all adult prisoners in the U.S. are under 34 years of age. In 1975, there was one white male between the ages 18-34 years of age in prison for every 153.6 white males in the same age group in the population. However, there was one non-white male between 18-34 in prison for every 22.4 of their counterparts on the street.[11]

In a recent study conducted by the American Foundation/Institute of Corrections, two important facts were revealed.

1. There is no correlation between a state's crime rate and its incarceration rate, but there is a very pronounced correlation between a state's employment rate and its crime rate. In other words, the higher the unemployment rate in a state the higher the incarceration rate.

2. There is no correlation between the racial composition of a state and its crime rate, but there is a very pronounced correlation between a state's racial composition and its rate of imprisonment. Put differently, a higher black population does not mean a higher crime rate; however a higher black population does mean a higher incarceration rate.[12]

From these findings it was noted that regardless of crime rates, blacks are locked up much more quickly and for much longer periods of time than are whites.

IV. CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS

Studies have been conducted for years attempting to establish a cause and effect relationship for crime. Although the cause and effect relationship has not been established it has been noted in examining the individuals caught in the criminal justice system that there are some glaring commonalities. An alarming number are black, (in some states as much as 80% of those incarcerated are non-white), they are unemployed, underemployed or sporadically employed, poorly educated, living in substandard housing, and have received inadequate health and social services.[13]

This information leads to the conclusion that the causes of crime form a complex issue and in all probability it is a combination of factors that bring a person into the system. The cause and effect relationship is difficult to establish; however, we know enough about the characteristics of people involved in street crime to establish programs that address these factors. The elimination of unemployment, poor education, substandard housing and inadequate health and social services could only serve to improve the quality of life of many blacks and therein reduce the amount of street crime.

Due to the complexity of the problem simplistic programs should not be undertaken in an effort to placate society and allay its fear of crime. Instead long range programs should be developed that truly address the root causes of street crime in America.

V. CURRENT RESPONSE TO CRIME

Crime is an emotional issue and there is a tendency to react only to that of which we are aware. Unfortunately the news media which have the greatest impact on public opinion have opted not to make the public aware of the vast range of crimes that are committed daily. Politicians and criminal justice practitioners also choose not to reveal this information. The politician runs for office on the platform that he will reduce crime in the street and law enforcement personnel argue for higher wages and increased numbers of police based upon the dangers they face from "street crime". They demand more personnel and higher wages despite the fact that neither of these correlates with the reduction of "street crime".

As the 70's come to an end and we move to the 80's, we hear cries for safer communities and stricter enforcement of the law, longer fixed sentences for offenders, return of the death penalty, expanded correctional facilities, and trying juveniles as adults dependent upon the type of crime they commit. These are all indicators of a philosophy that emphasizes the punishment of offenders. Although the vast unknowing majority of citizens within our society might find solace and security in this trend, knowledgeable criminal justice practitioners and legislators are well aware that this approach has never deterred crime or made our streets and society safer. To continue moving in this direction gives false hope to society at large and is most costly in human lives -- especially for those in the black community as both victim and offender.

It should be noted, however, that the cry for safer streets and safer communities is not restricted to the white community. Black people are very much concerned about the amount of crime that takes place in the black community and they too seek protection. Despite the popular belief that blacks are oblivious to crime and accept it in their own community, the vast majority of blacks are law abiding, opposed to crime and would welcome its reduction.

The black community like its white counterpart quite often supports expanded incarceration and stricter law enforcement as a solution to the crime problem. According to a 1978 survey by the National Opinion Research

Center, 85% of blacks felt the courts are not hard enough on criminals, 72% say not enough money is spent on crime fighting, and 40% believe in the death penalty for murder. They too have been misled by criminal justice practitioners, the media and politicians as to how to control crime in the community.

In April of 1977, Fay Knopp of the American Friends Service Committee, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee and voiced some concerns that should be reiterated at this time since the basic situation has remained unchanged.[14] She said "Our society tries to cage its social ills to hide them away from us". The "us" she refers to is the majority of society; however, I would submit that these social ills cannot be hidden from the black community because they are so much a part of this community. Furthermore, the individuals who are caged are our brothers, fathers, uncles and a neighbor or a friend.

Social ills cannot be caged. You cage the victims of our social and economic structure. You cannot cage poverty. You cannot cage unemployment, only the victims of unemployment and poverty. You cannot cage racism, only those who are the victims of racism.

In order to address the crime problem in this country we must examine it in terms of the operative economic and social factors as we enter the 80's.

1. Unemployment

   Of particular concern to the minority community is the extremely high black youth unemployment rate which is estimated at approximately 40%; whereas the white counterpart rate is approximately 15%. The concern in this area stems from the fact that such a disproportionate number of young black males are involved in the criminal justice system. There appears to be more than a casual relationship between the crime problem and the unemployment problem with this age group. High unemployment, layoffs and astronomical black youth unemployment would seem to predict an increase in the numbers of blacks entering the criminal justice system during the 1980's.

2. Education

In examining the characteristics of individuals involved in the criminal justice system it becomes clear that in almost all cases those individuals have had a poor school experience and have either dropped out of or been pushed out of school. Although the cause and effect relationship between a poor school experience and crime cannot be proven it is felt that the relationship is more than just casual.

3. Health

Here again we would not argue that poor health leads to crime; however those individuals involved in the criminal justice system have historically received the poorest health care. Health care reflects the quality of life and the quality of life seems to predict criminal justice involvement.

4. Housing

Many inner city blacks reside in high rise housing projects that have extremely high incidences of crime. In cities such as New York blacks are placed in city owned slum buildings that have been condemned as they await assignment to a housing project.

Heat is inadequate, the plumbing does not function and the ceilings and walls are falling apart. To maintain human beings in this type of housing seems to indicate a total lack of concern for people and seems to encourage them to strike back at society.

Ramsey Clark states in his book, "Crime in America" that if you identify for him the worse housing conditions in your city he will assure you that that is also the location of the highest crime rate.[15]

It is apparent from this brief review of the unemployment, education health and housing conditions of blacks that they continue to be in a difficult position overall and subject to those forces which seem to constitute a breeding ground for crime.

VI. CONCLUSION

An examination of crime in America over the last decade reveals the importance of first identifying the problem and laying out its many dimensions. It further reveals a system which has failed to meet the needs of American society in general. But because of an overwhelming involvement of blacks in the criminal justice system, this has particular implications for this group.

Therefore, our major concern should be the number of blacks who are involved in the system and the reasons for this intensive involvement.

It is suggested that blacks are disproportionately involved in the criminal justice system due to the manner in which society has chosen to define and address the problem of crime. The definition of crime has been restricted to only street crime as a target for the criminal justice system. Other crimes such as embezzlement, arson, building code violations and consumer fraud, etc., have been virtually ignored despite their vast impact upon the American society, and in particular upon blacks. In terms of monies these crimes represent more than twice the monies attributed to street crime. The cost in human lives and misery is beyond measure.

The news media, law enforcement agencies and politicians have bombarded the public with information about "street crime" and the dangers of the "inner city". This distorted presentation has convinced the public to both endorse and support tougher law enforcement and incarceration as the solution to the problem of crime.

This approach has led to poorly conceived ideas and programs that have made little or no impact upon crime in this country.

Furthermore, it is clear that black America is also concerned about crime and has been paying twice for being poor and black as demonstrated by the statistics on victimization and incarceration included in the text.

The double jeopardy situation in which Black America is caught makes it essential that blacks take a critical look at the problem and suggest solutions that will have long term effects.

Given the relationship between crime and unemployment, poor education, poor health services and poor housing it is predictable that crime in the black community will continue in the 80's. Any serious attempts to reduce crime must focus upon programs and policies that would in fact drastically reduce the high unemployment rate of blacks, meaningfully raise the quality of education in the inner city public schools, provide quality health care services to all peoples and assure adequate housing for all Americans including blacks.

FOOTNOTES

[1] FBI Uniform Crime Report, Crime in the United States: 1978, (Federal Bureau of Investigation , Washington, D.C. 1979) p. 207.

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[7] Richard Velde, "Blacks and Criminal Justice", an address delivered before the Second Annual Conference on Blacks and the Criminal Justice System, February 5, 1975.

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[9] Robert B. Hill, Illusions of Black Progress, National Urban League, Washington, D.C. 1978.

[10] National Moratorium on Prison Construction, February 1978.

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[12] William G. Nagel, Statement before the Subcommittee on Penitentiaries and corrections. U.S. Senate, October 6, 1977.

[13] National Moratorium on Prison Construction, February 1978.

[14] Testimony by Fay Knopp before the Senate Subcommittee on Senate Justice, Commerce and the Judiciary of the House Appropriations Committee, April 5, 1977.

[15] Ramsey Clark Crime In America, Observations on its Nature, Causes Prevention and Control, Simon and Schuster, New York City, 1970.

THOUGHTS ON A CONFLICT

By

Leslie W. Dunbar

I. INTRODUCTION

Last summer, Andrew Young was required by the President to resign as our Ambassador to the United Nations. The precipitating incident had been his negotiation with a diplomatic representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Like an abrupt and furious summer storm in Carter's and Young's South, black anger shook the country. It was directed not at the President or his Secretary of State but at the Israeli government and American Jews, seen as being the real cause of the dismissal. Jews responded bitterly.

An autumnal storm out of Iran has since controlled our minds, but the injury wrought by that earlier one will be lasting. It has to be the hope, however, of all of us that if old structures of amity were downed, new ones will be crafted and built in their place; for it is impossible to see how it is in the interest of Jews or blacks or the nation as a whole, for there to be anything but friendship and mutual support between these two historic victims of western, Christian, culture.

A chronology of events follows this essay; let that suffice for history. It is too early to write history anyhow, for history implies a deeper and more detailed knowledge than can be summoned now. It is not too early, however, to look over the social ground we stand on and must act on, and see questions and problems all this is likely breeding.

I do not know how to write this except with more subjectivism than either I am comfortable with or readers can be expected to want. My first qualification for this assignment is, as the National Urban League informed me, a personal one: I am neither black nor Jewish. That puts upon me a duty of impartiality and objectivity I am glad to assume, but my chances of meeting it may not be thought very good by either blacks or Jews.

I spring from British stock, seasoned by the blood of a Hessian soldier who deserted his employer's colors in a long ago war, then aged in the fastness of our upper South and Appalachia; in short, from ancestors who were above all the people who taught racism to the West and who tormented Jews and blacks without mercy. In the face of that, all I can say, is that I bring my mite, my offering.

The events of this past summer might, in fact, teach us anew what many of us -- unluckily, not all of us -- have learned, have had to learn, at some time or times in our lives. It is the lesson of how dangerously uncontrollable is all controversy that swirls around race or religion. Like children learning about a fire, we learn not to touch.

My friend Harold Fleming, when he was my chief at the Southern Regional Council, a Georgian seared by all he had been bred and raised within, had such a horror and fear of the word "nigger" that he would hardly allow its use in our publications even when we were quoting the enemy. Another good friend, John Lewis, who grew up in Alabama's Black Belt, told me once that without knowing how it came about in his childhood he learned to avoid the word "Jew," feeling it somehow unfriendly, adopting instead the circumlocution "Jewish person," like a white child in a "nice" southern family of the past learning to say "colored."

Most of us who were white and Christian, in his or her own way, learned the "secret," that there were Jews and blacks -- not to mention "lesser"

Christians, like Italians and Poles -- and that they were different and inferior. We learned it; the lucky ones of us later on learned also the lie of it, devoted ourselves to unlearning it.

In Baltimore where in the 1930s I spent my adolescence -- my father having been driven up there by the Depression -- the commercial pools, of which I can recall three, displayed signs, "Gentiles Only." I can't remember that they even bothered to mention, "whites only." Jews swam in the public parks' pools; where blacks swam, if at all, I don't know.

I played sandlot league baseball. Blacks and whites had separate diamonds in the public parks (which now and then led to fights, when there would be poaching). My team was the Shamrock A.C., named so by our Irish plurality. But our best bat was an Italian center-fielder and our players included three Jews. After a couple of seasons the parish priest decided that his church would field a team, and so he took all our Catholics, the Irish and even the Italian slugger (who never went to church anyhow).

Bereft of name and half our teammates, we remnant Jews and Protestants searched for a new home. We found it, where western peoples have always found their refuge from religious strife: in politics. Grown a little older now, we were adopted by and became the team of the Guilford Avenue Democratic Club.

Which leads me to suggest a second lesson to be learned from last summer's events. It is that our political institutions and processes failed in their ancient task of helping heal the ruptures among citizens. It is hard to believe that the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt's or Harry

Truman's days would have bemusedly allowed so ugly a cleavage between two great components of the party.

II. A PROBLEM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Determination to stress the public quality of issues should not obscure for us the specific responsibilities they often invoke. It diminishes not a bit the importance of friction between blacks and Jews to say that the Democratic Party has and should have a particular interest, and obligation. Intergroup relations have national meaning and value, but often have to be refined within sub-sets of the nation. There are things the Republican Party could and therefore should do uniquely well; e.g., to serve as a moderating force, instead of an encouragement, to the fringe groups now fouling our politics with single-shot causes like abortion or the Panama Canal.

Jews and blacks have for decades now been strong constitutive parts of the Democratic Party, and it is another mark of the progressive irrelevancy of our political parties that no apparent help in either avoiding or rectifying the friction came from the party or its leaders. This was so despite the fact that blacks and Jews participate at upper levels of the Carter administration in greater numbers than in any of its predecessors. But when Mr. Carter made his Emory University address on August 30 he spoke of the controversy as one between two errant but essentially good natured factions who he hoped would patch matters up.

There was no indication given that they might indeed have differences of substance between them, or that there were concerns involved which were in fact questions for the entire nation. Nor was there then or earlier or later any acknowledgment that the White House and the State Department had always had the capacity to defuse or at least correctly direct the controversy by describing why Mr. Young was dismissed. A basic and constant function of any administration is to further "a more perfect union;" that task was failed.

That being clearly so, why then did black anger over Young's ousting seemingly pass by the political officers who were responsible? It is a puzzling question, a deeply troubling one. It was almost as if black spokesmen, including Mr. Young, saw the President of the United States and the Secretary of State as helpless and therefore somehow excusable before the might of organized Jewry. It was reminiscent of old tales and superstitions. The conclusion was immediate (helped along suggestively) by such inexcusable journalism as that displayed by the New York Post's full front page, two word headline of August 15: "FIRE HIM") that Jews had "forced" Young out.

Perhaps in objective terms that had some validity, in the sense that Jewish pressure in the past had had much to do with the policy of non-communication with the Palestinians that Young had violated. But reactions were fast, too instinctive for that kind of analysis.

The question still had to be faced, why was the quick and deep anger there? Why was a group of people which had been and still is prominently represented in every cause of black people surrounded by such suspicion?

Part of the answer may be that Jews are one of the most affluent of our population groups, blacks one of the poorest. Blacks may perceive that the civil rights struggle has seemingly disadvantaged its Jewish participants not at all, while economically helping them (blacks) far less than hoped for.

Frustration finds its nearest target. But even allowing for all that, we would be dishonest with ourselves if we did not ask whether the anger concentrated on Israel and the Jews was driven by other and ugly motives and attitudes.

III. INTERNATIONAL PARTISANSHIP

The controversy did, of course, leap almost at once into a debate over Middle East politics and our policies there, even though always there were voices saying that it only substituted for the real disagreement, the one over "affirmative action." On that, more later. Whether primary, secondary, or even lesser, the foreign policy question was indubitably there.

The sociologist, Robert MacIver used to speak of the desirability of politics within a democracy dividing along a "single alignment," the most usual, of course, being economic. His warning is still valid. When one party's or faction's overriding interest is, say, a religious principle, so that it will subordinate all else and pay any political price to get what it wants; and another will do the same but on an unrelated issue of Constitutional interpretation; and another on foreign policy; and still another on a different foreign policy view; when that or something approaching it is the case, representative government becomes very difficult. About as difficult, for example, as it is in the United States right now.

It does little good to lecture deeply committed people, especially when the commitment is superbly commendable. There is little point in telling Jews that the interests of Israel cannot be paramount in the political opinions of Americans, or that Jewish dissidents in Russia are, in a world which includes Cuba, South Korea, South Africa, and a bushel of other police states, not the only dissidents whom we should use our power to help.

Nor is there much point in telling blacks similar things about the interests of black Africans; nor telling our Cubans to leave Cuban politics alone. On this churned-up planet we co-inhabit, national boundaries cannot be and ought not to be prisons of our minds or even our loyalties, and international affairs -- in their broadest sense -- are far too important to be reserved to diplomats.

We nevertheless need to know what we do. Foreign partisanship (which is usually a matter of ethnic identification) if carried too far and zealously can ravage domestic politics; as badly, for example, as the "right-to-life" frenzy can.

On Foreign Partisanship

Jews and blacks are most certainly not the only practitioners of foreign partisanship, and in truth blacks have only recently and as yet not mightily begun to identify with the interests of black Africa. A significant body of liberals and leftists, in the wake of those twin barbarisms -- the Vietnam War and Watergate -- became so outraged by American foreign and military policies that they, with near automaticity, oppose every one of them, and intertwine these rejections -- and the partisanships that result from them -- with their domestic positions.

A favorite group of partisans with them is that well-nigh undefinable presence called the Third World. Some blacks have explained their own sympathy for the Palestinians, who are certainly not Africans, as growing from commitment also to the [illegible] of the Third World, meaning by that the poorer peoples. This might mark a point of reunion between blacks and those liberals referred to above, who have generally gone separate ways in late years.

I can't see that as a very likely possibility, not centered on the Middle East at any rate. That peculiar mixture of wealth, power, poverty, fanaticism, and proud civilization which are the Islamic states is hardly a place where Americans can keep their footing; perhaps not even, as we begin now to realize, can our oil lords and military ideologues, who have done so much to make those people our enemies. But in addition to that, there can surely be little that is more clear than that the United States, for its own compelling reasons, must rid itself of dependence on OPEC decision-making. How that will be done I don't know. But it will be done, and I would suggest that Jews, blacks, liberals generally, and any others with a strong interest in the Middle East would do best for themselves as well as the nation and world peace if they were helping our public opinion guide itself toward achieving that emancipation with courage and also with justice.

Another Latent Combustible

The opinions of black Americans about the Middle East may represent one of the few examples of blacks here following the lead of black Africans. After the 1973 Israeli-Arab war, most of Africa's states broke relationships with Israel. It is not easy to explain that on objective grounds, including Marxist or other economic ones. Nevertheless, it happened and still obtains. Jewish Americans know it and feel the hurt of it. They feel also the hurt when African states join in United Nations' resolutions that equate "Zionism" with "racism."

American aid to Israel, both governmental and private, has gone on apace, and perhaps black Americans have felt themselves thereby uncomfortably separated from the policies of black Africans. If so, that was another bit of latent, largely unacknowledged combustible for the events of last summer.

So much, indeed, went into it that it seems more than a little lame for it to have been attributed to blacks having a special interest in the price of gas. It seems even more incongruous and distasteful for there to be talk of black organizations receiving a dribble of Arab money; oil money, that is, for Arabs have virtually no other kind. Yet we cannot expect otherwise, though we ardently may wish it. Money has flowed, still flows, from here to Israel. As long as there is unrest in its region, we cannot be surprised when the Arabs seek to aid those here who might be friendly to them; nor, money being the ichor of this society, when groups here that need money take it.

The Arab states do more, of course. They "re-cycle" their oil dollars with apparently big and growing investments in our economy, on a scale that make them an imposing factor in the calculations of our businessmen and governmental managers. The implications of that are far beyond the scope of this modest paper. But Arab spending includes also now and then bits of obvious propagandizing against Israel, and one assumes larger scale and non-publicized influence peddling, by, for example, their Washington law firms. I think it is time that Congress held extended hearings about the impact both of Arab investments and of their political activities here.

The external fueling of domestic causes is invariably, whether in the United States, Ireland, or wherever, a nasty business. The thought may be strongly disliked, but I nevertheless also wonder if the time has not come when Jewish Americans should reconsider the needs for and merits of their continued large scale philanthropy in Israel. That need, as I understand, is attributed in large measure to the fact that Israel's government must short social and educational services in favor of its extraordinary defense costs; but as some quite significant share of those is for purchase of military stuff from the United States, the philanthropy might reasonably be seen as indirect subsidy by private Americans to our military industry: which is an absurdity, I think. If it is in our national interest that Israel, or any other country, be militarily strong, our national treasury should insure it, not the ability-to-pay of the recipient.

For several years, militarists in Congress have tried to force on the administration another and shamelessly expensive nuclear powered aircraft carrier which the administration, no stranger itself to military greed, saw as needless. This year, Mr. Carter dropped his opposition, in order according to the New York Times of October 25, to obtain a few votes to sustain him in continuing an embargo on trade with Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. This kind of thing is the nadir of foreign partisanship.

To strengthen Israel we pour arms into it, and to pay Sadat for negotiating with Israel we pour arms into Egypt, which then requires that we sell more to Israel, and also to Saudi Arabia as well, for it begins to feel nervous, and so on and so on, until madness. Before blacks decide to get farther into this furnace or Jews to stay in as far as they are, they might ask themselves again where the road to peace lies.

An Absolutely Correct Principle

So, of course, must all of us. The heaviest wrongs of foreign partisanship come at those occasions where it propels military adventurism. The saving quality of it, and one for which democracy may have to be willing to pay extravagantly, is that it brings the various elements which make up our nation into the formation of our foreign policies. All in all, it is better this way. It was a small band of "experts" who led us into the bogs of Vietnam and Cambodia. I'll take my chances with many voices, many interests, pushing and shoving their way into national decisions.

So in all the debates of last summer, the one absolutely correct, quintessentially democratic principle was that blacks have not only the privilege but the responsibility of involving themselves in issues of foreign policy, and not only in those that pertain to Africa. So let them come in strength; best of all will it be if they come speaking for the lives, liberties, and welfare of the poor and their right not endlessly to be sacrificed for so-called "interests of state."

It is insulting to ask blacks (or Hispanics or Jews or Appalachian whites or any of us) to "stick to their agenda." It is also wasteful of the national treasure of insight and wisdom. When Mr. Carter in October assembled his "wise men" to advise him regarding the Russian soldiers in Cuba no blacks (or Hispanics) were included. Perhaps just as well. The advisors were called for tactical suggestions as to how to get off a limb foolishly mounted; that kind of thing is their expertise. It would be wise to consult minority people before going out on the next one.

Black entrance into foreign affairs is to be welcomed. If it, for example, leads them to condemn Israel's weapons trade with South Africa, if any of it still goes on, well and good. Whatever slows the flow of death favors us all. Perhaps it will lead blacks next to combat the larger flow of arms into South Africa from other governments and sordid arms merchants. Perhaps next to demanding that the Russians, Cubans, East Germans, French, and all the rest keep their weapons, troops, and "advisors" out of Africa. All any of us do when engaged in this business is kill black people.

We have for too long tried to define the "common interest" without the participation of all the parts of this nation. It is, therefore, good to have black entry into foreign policy debates, as into debates about any and all other political issues; and as it is and will be to have participation from

Chicano, and Indian, and Jewish, and all other parts of our society. The fact that racial and ethnic identifications are inevitable entering points does not mean, though, that they are the best or should be lasting. The "common interest" will be a sham or a fraud when large groups of this richly diverse nation are left out of its conceptualizing; but it will be a mirage if groups do not in time come to see with vision larger than their own group interest.

IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF ANDREW YOUNG

It was amazing how rapidly some of our syndicated columnists could produce heavy interpretations of the "meaning" of Young's resignation, all laden with diagnoses of Jewish-black conflict. It seems to me hard to improve on the two matter-of-fact statements below, the first by Franklin Williams, former diplomat and now with the Phelps-Stokes Fund; the second by Reese Cleghorn of the Detroit Free Press.

> The resignation was seen by the black community as a threat to black leadership. It was seen as a threat to black participation in international affairs with the implication that blacks were not qualified to participate in that arena; and as an attack on a respected leader and friend whose accomplishments in civil rights were well respected in the black community. (Washington Post, August 27).

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> That tended to turn black resentments against whites in the direction of one segment of white America: one that traditionally has given more support to black aspirations than most American whites have.

Young was the highest ranking black in the Administration. He had been rewarded by Mr. Carter with singular praise for his role in the 1976 election campaign. He was not only high-ranking but visible, out on the front page, a large figure on the world scene. Moreover, in speech and manner, he did not imitate whites; he remained what he had been, a man of the "Movement." He was a symbol, and more. He was a power. Then he was gone. And the black instinct for not giving up ground gained, nurtured in the deprivation of 300 years, came on in a rush.

It did so all the more because of the slights as well as the attacks which Young had had to endure. *Time* could speak patronizingly of his "naive idealism," call him "a loose cannon on deck;" the Washington *Post* would call him "miscast at the United Nations" (though, strangely, also state that he had made "some truly valuable, outsized contributions to American diplomacy"); Max Lerner would allege that he had often spoken first as a black and not as an American official, whereas "Henry Kissinger, a Jew who was Secretary of State, managed it much better;" the New York *Times* would call for a confession from him "that he resigned in a useful cause."

In no way could black America see that Young's "crime" fitted his punishment -- and theirs. Can the rest of us? To achieve an end his government desired he used a means his government forbade. The means was talking out something face to face with an opponent, a tactic which he had been employing half his life. And then he was not at first truthful in relating to his government what he had done. In the process, he achieved, however, the immediate end his government wanted. Black Americans, particularly after learning about the somewhat similar conversations and *quite* dissimilar punishment of our Ambassador to Austria (who happened to be Jewish), couldn't believe, apparently, that a calculating policitcian like the President would have done this without being pressed by power greater than theirs, felt sure that was true when they learned of the Israeli government's role of disclosure and formal protest of the incident.

Most of us can agree that effective government requires discipline and that a superior officer must be able to rely fully on the report of a subordinate. The question must still remain whether the punishment -- one felt by many, many black people -- was proportionate. Might it not have been a great victory for intergroup relations within our country had Jewish organizations, in those few crucial August days, called on the President to stay his hand, and to return the proffered resignation?

V. THE ROAD TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Mentioned above was the war of 1973 and the break that followed between Israel and black Africa. Even before then, the shout of "black power," and all our strange reactions to it, had nudged whites into increasingly defensive postures. Events followed hard on each others heels: the frightening riots of 1967; Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968, where a black community in New York and an overwhelmingly Jewish teachers union squared off against each other; the drifting attention of white liberals into peace, ecology, the women's movement; the disproportionate service and suffering of blacks in the unhonored war in Indo-China; the growth of violent crime and burglaries, too much of it attributable to blacks; the daily confrontations within New York City's (and others?) schools of black children and Jewish teachers, all agreeing that the schools work poorly though disputing the blame; the enraging inability of young blacks, especially males, to find work, while others seemed to get ahead; all this and even more.

And then came, steadily as the Seventies opened and moved along, busing and affirmative action to dominate the civil rights and intergroup relations field. Black organizations and Jewish organizations have, on the whole, stood together on busing, but that issue is -- am I not truthful in saying so? -- unloved by them all, save perhaps the lawyers among them. It was on affirmative action that the open break came.

Jews have, with good historic right, feared quotas, or set asides, or preferences, or whatever by any name determines access and advancement by the status of race, religion, or national origin. To Jews, quotas have meant "no more than." To blacks, with their own history of denial, longer dwelling here in the United States than most Jews, longer behind closed doors, quotas have meant "as many as." It is a crucial difference.

One of America's great successes, a truly lovely one, is that here a haven for Jews has somehow been fashioned, imperfect as it still may be. No other western people, to the West's eternal shame, has done as well. One of America's monstrous failures had been its treatment of its black people. No other western country had done anything much worse, and we have not yet by far undone what generations did, though some "new" people -- like the Jews -- have helped immensely in our getting on with the work.

I daresay, judging from my own conversations and reading, that a large majority of white, non-Jewish people agreed with those Jewish organizations which, in the DeFunis and Bakke cases and to a lesser extent the Weber case, challenged the black view on affirmative action. But it was the Jewish groups that were out in the open, forthright. I would also have to say -- and my contacts are limited, though fairly wide -- that except for some church staffers, most by far of the whites I know who are for affirmative action are Jews. The same, pretty much, at least in the North, could be said about busing. Jews are everywhere you look on the affirmative action side, lawyering and polemicizing, helping out as they can.

Dissents By Blacks, Jews

It is a fact that many blacks and Jews dissent from the positions laid down by black and Jewish organizations. It is no trick at all to find blacks who oppose busing, want nothing to do with it. It is hardly rarer to run across Jews who strongly question some policies of the Israeli government, though not Israel's essential value. It would appear that Jewish organizations stifle the public expression of dissent about Israel, and that black organizations do as well regarding busing.

But I have met very few blacks or read the writings of very few blacks opposed to the concept of affirmative action. When Jewish organizations stood against that, they stood against deep running black opinion. That opinion saw affirmative action as a practical need, as a political and constitutional right, as a moral obligation on the part of the white majority. Just as firmly, Jewish organizations and many Jewish leaders saw affirmative action as flagrant trespass against the constitutional principle which outlaws classification by race.

The collision has been inevitable, both sides holding to absolutes. We are still in the midst of it, and it is not good. The best face one can put upon it is to believe and hope that high feelings over this difference, and not anti-Semitism, produced the flood of black anger against Jews last August. If so, we could look with some calm optimism toward the future (at least before knowing the Supreme Court's decision in the Fullilove case): blacks, Benjamin Hooks has said, are fairly content, can live with, the decisions won in Bakke and Weber.

I hope it may not be presumptuous for me to suggest to both sides that the clash should not have been one of absolutes, but of policies. The question has got to be what policies of government -- including the courts -- will most surely advance us from where we are to a more just society.

It was, after all, a President supported strongly by both Jews and blacks, Lyndon Johnson, who said that we must move beyond an "equality of opportunity" to an "equality of results." It seems to me not at all helpful to debate how to do that wholly in terms of legally enforceable rights.

It is not helpful to tie oneself to the position that a specific racial inequity under the Constitution cannot under any circumstances have a specifically racial remedy. Nor is it any more helpful to insist that the Constitution requires such a remedy. What may or may not work, what actually serves best to move ahead toward equal opportunities and results, what promises help to the most people and injury to the fewest, what leaves decision-making freest and least centralized -- these are issues of policy that should be occupying us, and that courts should leave the people free to decide within broad constitutional definitions.

After World War II, and most especially since 1954, we moved away from a white and a black interpretation of the Constitution. We must not re-invent one. The collision we have had over affirmative action is in all respects hurtful.

An Obligation For All

The fact that the clash seemed to pit blacks against Jews has had another bad effect, one that burst out also this past summer in the Palestinian matter. It was the assumption which surfaced, was even unthinkingly given currency by some Jewish and black spokesmen, that resolution of these issues was solely, or at least primarily, up to Jews and blacks themselves.

That cannot be so. These are national issues, addressing themselves to all Americans. We WASPS -- and white Catholics too -- have as much obligation toward them as has anyone. We are fully involved. The precepts of intergroup relations surely must teach that at basic points the interests of groups must not impede the formation of a national view; and that one sure method of impedance is for the group to press its case so strenuously as to persuade an always lazy populace that it has no responsibilities: witness, again, Mr. Carter's hand washing in late August at Emory. Does the non-Jewish white population really want to leave public debate of Palestinian policy to a tug-of-war between blacks and Jews?

Why have so many white liberals, especially since 1973, fallen away from support of Israel? Why have they become so cool toward a country which by hard toil in a desert has made a refuge for a people who had been segregated, discriminated against, and killed all over Europe and large areas of Asia? We - we American liberals - can expect Israel, as we would any country to conduct itself justly, can remind Israel that for it, as for any state, the measure of justice is in how it behaves toward those who are weakest; but Israel has the right to defend its interests and our own self-respect should require that we address that fact as would friends and comrades. Why especially, have some liberals of late treated Israel so negatively when at point after point in world affairs that coolness leans them toward the positions of Russia or the interests of American oil companies and/or OPEC? Time, which is always liberals' needed friend, will restore better sense.

On Leadership

But why, in addition to shock over the loss of Young, did black leaders rise up so rapidly, bitterly, and -- at least for a few weeks -- uniformly? I venture to suggest another reason. I do so with hesitancy because some may read it as intentionally wounding. I don't mean it so, even though it will amount to saying that some black leadership needed a cause and leaped for one. If it needed a cause it was not primarily because of its own failure but because our country as a whole was failing the black poor.

Black leadership has spent itself in recent years in two broad political pursuits. One has been office holding. Except for a very few examples to the contrary, of whom Young was the most prominent, this has led to those mayoral and Cabinet offices that seem chiefly intent on keeping the poor fed and quiet. A handful of Congresswomen and Congressmen don't really improve on that situation.

Secondly, black leadership has gone after hollow and essentially symbolic goals, like the Humphrey-Hawkins bill in the emasculated version which passed, or District of Columbia statehood. Neither of these meant nor can be convincingly shown to mean anything for the majority of black people, certainly not for the poor. Affirmative action, on the other hand, did have meaning, was widely perceived throughout the black communities as meaning something. Here were Jewish organizations standing against it. And here was the one black office holder clearly doing more than helping keep the poor quiet fired in a context of Jewish interests. There was too much of pent-up frustration for old amity to contain.

Most of the actors behaved more or less seriously. One does not have to admire or even excuse the visits by black spokesmen to the PLO (and Libya too) or what was said at them to admire or excuse not a whit more the international antics of a Senator Helms or a Representative Hansen. One remembers too, with a small shudder, the American liberals who last spring in their adulation blinded themselves to what even then the Ayatollah Khomeini clearly portended. The American as a foreign enthusiast has never cut much of a figure.

Nonetheless, the questions raised by SCLC and PUSH leadership last summer were serious and substantive questions of foreign policy. We can view with distaste the manner of their raising. We can reject the answers they expressed or implied to their own questions. But it seems to me we cannot deny that the questions were serious, or the value in a democracy of there being debate about foreign policies. The PLO may have lived by the gun and the bomb, and be deserving thereby of our enmity. It nevertheless exists. Americans, of all people, might be expected to be familiar with its tactics, and the attitudes that drive and form them. Just reread our old literature with its many mostly true, probably, tales of Indians marauding, destroying property, and killing white settlers, altogether resembling in their terrorism the PLO, and with similar causation.

But blacks as well as Jews are on a short tether. They are both captive Americans. They are not among those few American minorities -- Indians come, of course, first to mind -- who are somewhat insulated, or can insulate themselves from, the fortunes and directions, good and bad, of the national polity. It is impossible to conceive of Jews or blacks having interests detachable from those of the general society (which is, of course, a different thing from saying that society has always served them well). As on all of us, there are upon them powerful restraining forces, nationalizing forces, which if left free to act draw them toward common interests and approximately similar perceptions of them.

To the regret of some of us, there is not much likelihood of blacks, including poor blacks, becoming "radical." Nor of Jews. Individual Jews and blacks, yes, and sometimes in larger numbers than others. But these great groups taken in their larger import are and will probably for long be conservative influences within American life. Neither will for long be wedded to any position, whether pro -- or anti -- Israel, or the PLO, or affirmative action, which it cannot persuade the nation as a whole to follow.

VI. A DANGEROUS BUSINESS

In preparing these comments I have talked as searchingly as I could with numerous Jews. A whole lot of adjectives can with accuracy be used to describe their feelings: angry, bewildered, anxious, and hurt are some of them. Other adjectives could also apply, though only with qualifiers: tolerant, but wary; understanding, but with backs to the wall; concerned still for justice, but more selective about one's allies.

There were things said that should not have been said:

> But there was a kind of paternalism when blacks were totally helpless and dependent. Jews basically made all the decisions in the coalition. When blacks began to think for themselves and challenge liberal views and leadership, things changed.
>
> ...When blacks wanted to do for themselves, Jews and liberals rejected it.
>
> ...When there wasn't much decency in society, many Jews were willing to share decency. The conflict began when we started our quest for power. Jews were willing to share decency, but not power.
>
> ...We have been patient and forebearing in their masquerading as friends under the pretense of working for the common purpose of civil rights...Indeed, we question whether their loyalties are first to the State of Israel or to the United States. The loyalties of black Americans have never been questioned.
>
> ...When you have a bigger piece of the rock, as Jews have, you can afford to be optimistic (that tensions will be eased).

Jewish leaders responded in "sorrow and anger;" alluded to "half-truths, lies, and bigotry;" and implied that blacks had succumbed "to Arab blackmail on the energy crisis."

Such things were said in the heat of last summer. They are no longer being publicly and prominently said. They should not have been said then.

All western history, all American history, all -- if you will -- intergroup relations theory and experience unequivocally warn against such. They go too close to the stoves that are too hot to touch.

It is not, however, anti-Semitic to be for affirmative action, or for contacts with the PLO, or even to be skeptical of the policies of Israel, no more is it necessarily anti-black to be suspect of affirmative action or to be a firm Zionist. As Jesse Jackson once insisted, one should not have to defend against the old charge of anti-Semitism -- and I would add, of racism -- simply for adopting such positions. How much anti-Semitism there is among blacks I don't know; probably as much, I'd guess, as among the rest of Americans. And that is too much. The ugly public statements of last summer stopped short, and for that we can all be thankful; one that may not have was James Baldwin's in the Nation (September 29), but he at least wrapped his views in incoherence.

Whites, including Jews, were more restrained publicly. They were not privately, in my experience, though of all whites I have had contact with, Jews were the most. Others can do the scientific polling. For myself, I observed that the ease with which white people express their anti-black feelings increased.

A Broader Problem

This is a broader problem than this paper can deal with. We are a healthier country by far than we once were, but we are far from cures of the sickness of racism, or rid of our susceptibility. There is, I believe, something to be said for that reading of our history which sees outfits like the Ku Klux Klan as always operating with the permission of their social superiors. Sometimes, as in yesterday's South, that permission and encouragement are fairly open. Sometimes it has to be sensed, through social antennae. Again, the pollsters can have their own day and I know that some of them would doubt what I am about to say. But I'll rely nevertheless on my own senses, and say that I think the recent resurgence of Klan and like activities, and their disorganized, almost experimental manifestations, reflect perhaps not necessarily an enlarged racist spirit but at least a widespread relaxing of the social discipline learned during the civil rights movement: "respectable" people feel more at ease today in letting their prejudice slip out, and Klan-sorts detect that.

I suppose it is possible to see the controversy of last summer as a puny one. Office holders do, after all, get booted all the time, citizens are forever shouting at each other. What -- let us say it -- made this one so dangerous was that it was about blacks and Jews, the two peoples who time after time have been driven to the cliff-edges of western civilization.

From those terrible places, blacks and Jews have mustered the strength of mind and spirit to lead us who have victimized them both. Black Americans in the 1960's did so, in their own self-interest but in everyone else's as well, by the teachings of non-violence and of caring, probably the most civilizing air over the American people since the Declaration of Independence. Jews above all, perhaps, responded to them with courage and high purpose. To the charge that they did so for their own narrow ends, one of the South's long-time workers for justice, a Jew, said to me, "I look into myself. Long range self-interest? Yes, I suppose. But it would always have been easier to stay out." I have myself known too many Jews at every place in the ranks of struggle for civil rights to have much patience with the accusation. And too many black voices did come forth during the controversy for one to doubt long that the clear principles of Movement days are, mercifully, still about.

VII. CONCLUDING WORDS

Vernon Jordan addressed the controversy in a speech in October. The setting is worth notice. It was in Kansas City, in the very heartland of "middle America," before a Catholic audience, and began with some remarks about religious tolerance. Even before Jordan, the intellectual eloquence of Julius Lester had been heard; Lester, a veteran of the Movment, is closely identified with the Committee of Southern Churchmen, a biracial group of mostly fundamentalist Christians. Other principal figures -- Fauntroy, Hooks, Jackson, Lowry, Walker, Young -- are Christian ministers.

Jews have always stood outside that Christian world, usually, in western history, to their grief. They stand too outside the Islam world. They are, whatever their present status here may be, a people of the margin.

How could it be supposed that such a people would act altruistically only out of a "sense of guilt?" One does read that. Theirs is not the guilt, and I doubt that theirs is the conviction of it. Neither did black people contrive this web of racial feeling, discrimination, and injustices which America stumbles under and through.

I suggested earlier that two lessons we might carry from last summer are a renewed sense of the dangerousness of group attack on group and a deepened concern about the inadequacy of our political institutions as forces of unity.

But except to say to black and Jewish people as I would to any, that it is better when we can avoid absolute principles in debate of public issues, I have no specific "lesson" to suggest to them. Both have so often, and so patiently, been my own teachers that I shall at least not presume to instruct them.

I would say another word, however, to "my own people," to Rockefellers, Carters, Fields -- and to scraggly hill people like the Dunbars. We are the folks, all by ourselves just about, who invented race; who taught generations of our children about "Christ killers;" who had the imagination to think up "final solutions;" the determination to man the slave traders and the plantations. Nothing much that is bad happens in this world that we are not source or part of. The Ayatollah doesn't storm, Yassir Arafat doesn't bomb, Cambodians don't starve, without our leading hand.

We are, moreover -- we bearers of northern European, Christian culture -- the ruling elite of this country. We are the suppliers of every president it has had, nearly all of its other principal officers, generals and admirals, and most of its financial and industrial chiefs. We were there last summer, when two of our victims quarrelled.

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Chronology For

"Thoughts On A Conflict"

July 26	Young met with Zehdi Labib Terzi, the P.L.O. representative, at the Kuwait embassy, to discuss a postponement of a vote on a resolution proposed by Kuwait and Nigeria, calling for an independent Palestine state and acceptance of the P.L.O. as representative of the Palestinians.
July 31	The vote was postponed, as proposed by the United States.
August 11	Following up a tip received by *Newsweek's* correspondent in Israel, the magazine's Washington correspondent asked the State Department about rumored meeting between Young and Terzi. Inquiries were made by the State Department to Young and a report given to Secretary of State Vance, to the Israeli Embassy in Washington, and to *Newsweek*. The report, based on Young's account, was that there had been an inadvertent and brief meeting, confined to social amenities.
August 13	*Newsweek* published a report based on the State Department account.
	Young met with Yehuda Blum, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, and reportedly gave a full account of his discussion with Terzi. Blum reported to his government, and Young to his.
August 14	The State Department reprimanded Young and he conceded that he initially misled the Department.
	The Israeli government delivered a formal protest to our embassy in Tel Aviv, asserting a violation of our pledge to have no dealings with the P.L.O. before it accepts Israel's right to exist.
August 15	The State Department released its account of the incident.
	Andrew Young resigned, effective at the close of the current session of the U.N. Security Council.
	Young defended all of his actions at a press conference following his resignation.
August 16	The Black Leadership Forum met in New York, and issued a statement which included the sentence, "It is regrettable...that the President accepted his resignation."

mid August to early Oct.	Media commentators and editorialists write and speak frequently. Jewish and black leaders and writers have also much to say. Conciliatory statements, such as some noted below, are the exception.
August 20	Officers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference conferred with Terzi.
August 21	They conferred with Blum and American Jewish leaders.
August 22	An estimated 200 black leaders, representing virtually all elements of black organizational life, met in New York. A number of statements were released, associating Young's dismissal with American Jewish and Israeli influence.
August 23	The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, representing 11 national organizations, replied to the August 22 statement of the black spokesmen.
August 30	President Carter, speaking at Emory University, urged blacks and Jews to reconcile their differences.
	Bayard Rustin wrote in the New York Times, calling on blacks to condem and shun P.L.O. Article appeared also on September 1 in the Amsterdam News.
August 31	Donald McHenry, a deputy of Young's, is named to succeed him as American Ambassador to the United Nations.
September 10	Julius Lester writes in the Village Voice, the article beginning, "And so, Jews are being used as scapegoats again."
September 17-September 21	Representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by its president Joseph Lowery and Congressman Walter Fauntroy, toured in the Middle East. Israeli leaders declined to meet with them.
September 21	Young's last day as U.N. Ambassador. Addressed this night the Congressional Black Caucus; called for blacks to be active in foreign policy debates.
October 1	The New York Times reported that several proinent rabbis in their sermons last night at the beginning of Yom Kippur spoke of reconciliation between Jews and blacks in civil rights causes.

September 28- October 5	Representatives of People United to Save Humanity, led by its head Jesse Jackson, toured in the Middle East. Jackson met with Yasir Arafat.
October 15	Vernon Jordan addressed the National Conference of Catholic Charities. "Black-Jewish relations should not be endangered by ill-considered flirtations with terrorist groups devoted to the extermination of Israel. The black civil rights movement is based on non-violent moral principles."

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The common thread that runs through the papers that comprise the heart of "The State of Black America-1980" is an assessment of the decade of the 1970's as a time of retreat, retrenchment and lost opportunities in the long struggle to create equality of opportunity in these United States. Black America ended the decade in a less favorable position than it began the 70's. As it moves into the 1980's it faces the almost certain possibility, to use the words of Ellis Cose, that it will be entering "a decade in which blacks will be hard pressed to hold on to many of the tenuous gains of the past."

Cose was not alone among the authors of the preceding papers in forecasting difficulties ahead for Black America. In his paper on "Black Families in the 1980's," Dr. Robert B. Hill said:

"Since the current recession is predicted to worsen in 1980, it is very likely that there will be at least two recessions during the '80's. Such recurring recessions will undoubtedly mean a continuation of a disproportinate high level of unemployment among black workers."

Accepting these predictions as valid, and all available facts argue that they should be accepted, it is clear that black Americans must move into the 1980's determined not to relent an inch in their continued agitation for positive actions to close the economic gap between whites and blacks. The years ahead would be much less difficult if such agitation was not needed, but the plain fact is that relying on time alone to redress the scales of justice has never proven very successful. As Dr. Bernard A. Anderson has written in his paper on "Economic Progress:"

"The only reasonable conclusion that one can reach on the eve of a new decade is the same that might have been expressed a decade ago, namely, special efforts directed toward blacks in the American work force will be necessary if the gap in employment and income is ever to be narrowed and eventually erased. Despite comforting hopes to the contrary, there is no progress at work within American society that will lead inexorably to a steady and continuing improvement in the relative economic status of the black community."

Therefore it is incumbent upon Black America to continually remind the nation that the task of reconstruction is not yet over and that special efforts are still needed to assure that all Americans have the same opportunities to develop to the maximum of their potential. We are under no illusions that such efforts will not be resisted given the rise of the new negativism in this country and the growing, if mistaken belief, that blacks have made such great strides forward over the last few years that special efforts on their behalf are no longer necessary. And yet we know that unless these efforts are undertaken we will enter the 1990's and perhaps even the 21st Century, still lagging far behind the rest of the parade.

This does not have to be. We saw dramatic leaps in jobs, income and other indicators of progress during the 60's. We saw that deprivation and poverty can be successfully attacked if there is the will and the commitment to do so. America would be well advised to renew this will and commitment in the 1980's for the serious problems that have been outlined in this publication cannot be allowed to linger indefinitely. They nurture the seeds of discord and disunity. They cast a pall of gloom over our future.

America should also be reminded that without changes that make better use of the full human potential of all people, national productivity and the economy will decline. Thus it is in the national interest that social change be promoted in the coming decade.

To that end, the National Urban League has proposed a Black Agenda for the 1980's. It should be noted, however, that the agenda is "black" only in the sense that blacks are disproportionately poor. It is an agenda that transcends race, sex and region. It is an agenda directed at helping all of America's poor and deprived citizens. It is an agenda that is in the national interest.

It calls for full employment, aggressive pursuit of affirmative action, an equitable income maintenance system to replace the present totally disastrous welfare system, a national youth development program, a national health system and decent housing for all. Details on these and other items on the agenda appear in the recommendations that follow. For now, suffice it to say that this Black Agenda does not constitute an impossible dream. Rather it represents an opportunity to make the 1980's a time of revival of America's heritage of idealism and its confidence in traditional values of justice, brotherhood and equality.

Not every area of importance to black Americans has been covered in this report -- space alone would preclude this from happening. One of the obvious areas that has not been touched is that of the 1980 Census. In the past, census figures have grossly undercounted the true number of black people in the population resulting in the loss of federal aid to their communities, since most formulas for such aid are based on census deprived population figures.

These census figures are also used in reapportioning legislative districts, from Congress on down to local city councils. This means some Congressional seats will be lost in areas where black predominate as black votes may be diluted by the addition of suburban areas to existing urban districts.

That is the likely outcome if the Census undercounts black urban populations. This makes it in minority interests to insure the Census Bureau gets an accurate black and Hispanic count.

Mention should also be made of the urban environment in which so much of Black America lives. Because of Black America's poverty, because of social and economic disadvantage, black Americans suffer disproportionately from the degraded physical environment. As an example, black cancer rates are rising faster than those for whites. For some cancers black rates are 50% more that for whites. It is no accident that cancer rates rise as blacks perform the dirtest jobs in our society and are locked into the most polluted neighborhoods.

Black health figures document the effects of pollution and stress caused by the physical environment, blacks suffer from hypertension, heart and lung disease, and other physical and mental disorders directly traceable not only to the social and economic environment in which they live, but also to the physical. We believe that a commonality of interest exists between traditional environmentalist groups and those interested in our urban areas and it would be in the best interest of both to join in coalition efforts to clean up our cities.

REPORT ON 1979 RECOMMENDATIONS

In last year's "State of Black America," a number of recommendations were made. Through the National Urban League's Washington Operations Office we have reviewed those recommendations and were encouraged to learn that in a number of instances, action had been taken. A report on several of the recommendations follows:

THE ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Recommendation: Federal job training and job creation program that would increase earnings, productivity and tax revenues should be expanded and not reduced.

Action: In 1978 the federal government spent $14,467,000,000 to fund 3,829,000 employment and training slots. In 1979 $15,622,000,000 was spent to fund 3,991,000 slots. Thus there was a slight increase.

Recommendation: The Administration's efforts to curb escalating costs should be concentrated on those items -- such as food, energy, health and housing costs -- that are staples of low- and moderate-income family budgets. The imposition of selective price ceilings would lower the inflation rate while providing aid to inflation's prime victims.

Action: The Administration's Anti-Inflation Program includes guidelines only for the rate of increase on supermarket mark-ups on foodstuffs, automobile sales, rents, and the profit structure in the oil industry.

Recommendation: Necessary cuts in federal spending should be made in areas other than those that are critically important to the poor such as health, income maintenance, etc.

Action: The FY '80 Budget saw a very conservative Congress still responding to a Proposition 13 mentality and the perceived signal which that initiative and similar ones purported to represent. The Administration's budget also represented an effort at budget balancing at the expense of domestic programs.

Recommendation: The trend of job movement to the suburbs and the sunbelt requires new policies that will make suburban job opportunities available to low- and moderate-income families through housing programs, improved public transportation and vigorous enforcement of affirmative action and equal opportunity mandates.

Action: As part of the Urban Policy, Executive Orders were issued requiring that whenever possible, federal buildings be located in inner-cities and that Urban Development Action Grants be given to projects that will produce jobs in the inner-cities.

The Economy and Employment - continued

The National Urban League and other organizations are in the process of working with the General Services Administration, the agency responsible for carrying out the Facilities Siting Executive Order, to determine whether the Order is being carried out.

URBAN POLICY AND HOUSING

Recommendation: The federal government must adopt a strong anti-displacement policy. Displacement must be considered as a negative impact to be guarded against when designing and administering federal policies and programs. Urban policy initiatives must be amended to address displacement and to eliminate its potential for contributing to the problems of the urban poor.

Action: The Department of Housing and Urban Development released a report in November, 1979, stating that "no person shall be displaced as the direct result of a HUD or HUD assisted program or activity unless an affordable, decent, safe and sanitary replacement dwelling is available." Left untouched was the larger problem caused by private displacement.

Recommendation: Specific proposals (omitted from the national Urban policy) targeted at meeting the housing needs of the poor and minority residents of cities must be included in that policy and as a federal commitment to ensure that all American families have the opportunity to live in decent housing at affordable prices.

Action: The Administration has moved to provide a slight increase in the number of subsidized housing units to a 300,000 unit level. However, this level is only half the units projected as minimum needs in the 1968 Housing Act. The Administration did target available units to most needy persons.

EDUCATION

Recommendation: A long-term and consistent program of federal support for historically black colleges should be developed which takes into account the nature of the economically-depressed student body which attends such schools.

Education - continued

Action:	A directive ordering all agencies to increase assistance to historically black colleges was signed by the President in January 1979. However, as late as December 1979, no Cabinet Department had in fact increased aid to black colleges.
Recommendation:	The federal government should develop an innovative approach through the Office of Education's Urban High School Task Force to focus attention on developing a definition of and a measurement for 'Employability Skills" which are transferable in the marketplace in terms of both in-school preparation and on-the-job training programs.
Action:	The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Unemployment has addressed this issue. On January 10, 1980, the Administration announced a plan to spend $2 billion more on programs to help unemployed youth prepare for and enter the labor market.

Brown - 25 Years Later

The past year also marked the 25th Anniversary of the Brown Decision which ushered in a new era, striking down the institution of segregation and laying the legal, idealistic, and philosophic basis for the Second Reconstruction. That Reconstruction was never completed and in assessing where blacks were, a quarter of a century after the historic decision, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League, in his keynote address at the NUL's 1979 Annual Conference, had this to say:

"Let me say firmly and clearly: There has been progress; there has been tremendous change, and more black people find themselves in better circumstances than at any time in our history. It would be dishonest to claim otherwise. Blacks in high positions have proliferated. Blacks are in jobs never before open to us. Blacks are in schools and colleges that never allowed us through their doors.

"Yes, there has been progress -- for some of us.

"Does that progress justify the claim that our battles are over, that the war is won? Does it justify claims that black problems are now based on class, not race? Does it justify the view that black leadership is not responsive to the changed national climate? And does it justify the claims that affirmative action and minimum wage laws harm rather than help black citizens?

"As much as we celebrate the progress black people have made, we must insist that the glass of our hopes is half-empty and draining fast.

"The myth of black progress is a dangerous illusion used as an excuse to halt further efforts to extend real progress to all of our people. The myth of black progress illustrates the negative attitude toward blacks. It purports to show that blacks have made progress and those who have not have only themselves to blame. It sanctions the vile myth that the poor are really an underclass, incapable of being helped, unwilling to rise out of their povery.

"Let us acknowledge the great progress some of us have made. But at the same time, let us recognize the true plight in which the vast majority of black people find themselves."

It is to address that plight that the NUL makes the following recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

Employment and the Economy

1. The need for jobs in Black America remains crucial. While the number of federal job training and job creation programs has shown an increase over the past 12 months, the almost 25% unemployment rate among blacks indicates that such programs must be substantially increased.

2. Private industry and specifically small and mid-sized businesses where most of the nation's jobs are located, should be encouraged through such inducements as tax credits, to employ and train youth and individuals with limited job skills.

3. The Administration should implement the employment section of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act and the Congress should authorize and appropriate the monies necessary to reduce joblessness.

4. Hospital cost containment legislation should be passed immediately.

5. The impact of higher social security taxes on the low-income worker should be a matter of major concern and in any tax cutting proposal, attention should be given to this concern.

6. Given the unfavorable economic climate now present in America, the Administration should re-think its decision to tighten the formulas under which the unemployed can receive an additional 13 weeks of jobless benefits beyond the normal 26 weeks. With the change in the formulas, some unemployed who would have received 39 weeks of benefits will receive only 26 weeks.

Affirmative Action

7. Positive incentives to encourage compliance with affirmative action laws and regulations as well as the negative sanctions already available (the "carrot as well as the stick" approach) should be instituted.

8. There is serious concern that whatever gains have been made by minority group members and women in recent years will be lost during recessionary times. Three possible options have been suggested to minimize the adverse impact of a recession: 1) work sharing; 2) instituting plant-wide seniority systems; and 3) releasing employees at the rate proportional to their percentage in the firm's work force. These should be considered by the private sector.

9. During the 1980's the federal government should insure that affirmative action guidelines be followed under the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act of 1976 as mandated. The anticipated construction of Alaska natural gas transportation system will offer 10-11,000 employment opportunities over the next 3-4 years. The federal inspector should take affirmative action to insure non-discrimination in receiving or participating in any activity conducted under the Act.

10. With the Supreme Court's sanction of voluntary affirmative action programs in the Weber Case, private employers should now press ahead with broad comprehensive affirmative action programs. The principles enunciated by the Court in the Weber decision should be accepted by all sectors within America and affirmative action should no longer be an issue dividing the black and Jewish communities.

11. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act) should be amended to include policies which address layoffs, and reductions-in-force in public and private employment.

Education

12. The federal government should increase support to black researchers and linguists to encourage the examination of strategies to improve the acquisition of language art skills in urban public schools. It is particularly imperative that all minority students acquire proficiency in standard English. This must be accomplished in a manner which does not denigrate the language of the students' home environment.

13. There must be a national moratorium on testing programs. The federal government should target research funds to help state and local school systems develop testing programs which will equitably delineate and help to evaluate the roles, responsibilities and the performances of administrators and teachers as well as students.

14. The federal government should provide funds to increase research and demonstration efforts focused on the improvement of motivational counseling programs in urban areas, particularly at the elementary and middle school level.

15. Congress should insure that the new federal funding to increase the basic skills of junior and high school students should be targeted only to those systems and only for those programs which have been demonstrated as successful.

16. The President must confirm his on-going commitment to his Black College Initiative. A long term and consistent program of federal support for black colleges must be developed. The federal government must continue to provide support for such institutions in recognition of both the unique historical role of these institutions and the economically depressed student body which attends such schools.

17. The federal government should not relent in its insistence that post-secondary institutions receiving federal monies, adopt and implement effective

affirmative action plans for both faculty and students. In the absence of such plans, and documented results, federal funds should be withdrawn from the institution.

Housing

18. The National Fair Housing Act should be amended to incorporate adequate enforcement procedures, as in the proposed Fair Housing Amendments. An affirmative action program should be created and made active in all local housing markets.

19. Granting of federal funds for housing and community development to local governments should be conditioned on the active involvement by those governments of neighborhood groups in the planning and implementation of neighborhood development activities. Such involvement can be demonstrated by such actions as the localities providing resources and technical assistance in the organization of neighborhood groups.

20. The existing Neighborhood Self-Help Development legislation should be amended so as to provide funds for planning and organizational activities for neighborhood groups. (These activities are a necessary prelude to the operation of programs by neighborhood groups under the Act, but present legislation is restricted to only program funding.) The amended legislation should also include provisions allowing neighborhood groups to negotiate directly with the federal government for delivery of federal programs, such as Section 312 property improvement loans, needed to implement neighborhood self-improvement plans.

21. The urban policy of state governments should be designed to promote the development of existing localities and to discourage the spawl of metropolitan areas. States can do this by:

a. Refusing to finance further sewer, water or highway extensions that are in conflict with regional development plans.

b. Prohibiting counties and municipalities from using their own tax exempt bonds to finance sewer, water and road projects in conflict with regional development plans.

c. Requiring Public Service Commissions to increase utility rates in those fringe areas which are costly to serve. This would also ease the burden on other utility consumers who in effect subsidize services to these fringe areas.

22. Federal, state and local governments should give priority to providing equity capital for the establishment and/or expansion of small neighborhood businesses.

23. The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act should be reauthorized by Congress and should be expanded and strengthened to reflect its experiences which have shown that the present method of collecting data is awkward and would be substantially improved if data were compiled at central sources within regions, rather than at individual institutions.

24. Local governments should pass legislation that would enable them to negotiate directly with employers to provide suitable conditions for the expansion of employment in older neighborhoods by the granting of appropriate privileges (i.e. the relaxing of zoning standards).

25. HUD's Housing Counseling Program, which has proven to be successful, should be expanded to provide this service in all local housing markets. At present, the program only operates in 40% of the cities HUD labels as distressed.

26. Attempts to decrease the federal commitment and funding of low income housing assistance program (Section 8) must be halted. This program, which provides rent subsidies to low-income families, has been attacked through regressive regulations. Additional serious retrenchments must be curtailed.

27. A moratorium should be placed on all condominium conversions. The housing supply is already tight for low-income families, and the recent spate of conversions is exacerbating the problem. Similarly, federal assistance should be provided to low-income renters to enable them to bid on the purchase of units in which they reside which are "going condo."

Social Welfare

28. The Senate should pass the limited "Welfare Reform Package" already passed by the House of Representatives. It should protect the integrity of the package by approving a basic minimum benefit level at least as high as that proposed by the President.

29. The Senate should expand upon the House version of the bill to include Medicaid coverage for all AFDC beneficiaries. This would give the bill an additional universal feature and further support uniformity in coverage and benefits and simplify administration.

30. The Administration should abandon its efforts to obtain decreases in Social Security benefits. This recommendation is supported by the Advisory Council on Social Security.

31. The Administration should exert dramatic leadership to again make financing for elective abortions available to Medicaid recipients. This benefit is entirely consistent with reducing the mortality and morbidity rates among infants and teenage mothers. It is also consistent with controlling future welfare costs.

32. Both the public and the voluntary welfare sectors should agressively seek to expand the number of blacks serving on boards, commissions and in top policy level staff positions in the human services field.

33. The federal, state and local governments should do more to contribute to an increase in minority adoptions by instituting programs that would lead to greater community involvement and which would enforce greater accountability from agencies.

34. More funding is desperately needed for research about handicapped and/or older children and how to effectively recruit adoptive homes in the minority community to meet their needs.

35. The Administration and Congress should insure that the federal budget contains sufficient funds for the efficient operation of welfare programs. The lack of funds should never provide the basis for any considerations to evaluate program effectiveness, such as USDA's recent proposed alternatives for reducing food stamp values.

Health

36. The Senate should move immediately to pass the Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP). This bill is vital to the health of millions of poor children.

37. The Congress should take definitive action on a National Health Insurance Plan. It should insure that any plan provide for mandatory coverage, comprehensive benefits, and assures equal access to equality health care for all Americans regardless of economic condition or place of residence.

38. Congress should enact into law the Mental Health Systems Act.

Energy

39. Low-income consumer and emergency assistance programs must be expanded to shelter the poor and working poor from the devastating effects of ever escalating energy prices. A fixed percentage of government revenues derived from increased energy taxes should be specifically earmarked for low-income assistance, especially for rising utility bills.

40. Our nation's energy conservation goals must be effectively utilized as a vehicle for minority economic and job development. There must be assistance to minority business people to enter the fields of weatherization, energy audits and solar installation. This business development should go hand in hand with large scale job training programs in both the public and private sectors to train minorities in these growing fields.

41. Weatherization of the homes of poor people must be a top priority as a tool for shielding the poor from rising energy prices. Federal government programs must broaden the base of community organizations eligible to receive direct funds for economic and community development activities in the energy field. For example, a community-based group engaged in housing rehabilitation or construction should be eligible to apply to the Department of Energy for weatherization funds to ensure that the program reaches larger number of low-income communities. Program funding levels must more realistically reflect market costs.

42. There must be increased representation of the concerns of minorities and the poor at all levels of energy decision-making. The energy industry, utilities and all levels of government must place more blacks and minorities in policy level positions.

43. Energy education and awareness funds must be directed to minority community organizations. These organizations are best equipped to explain and get the energy conservation message across.

Crime

44. Alternatives to incarceration should be aggressively pursued as a method of rehabilitation. These alternatives should have a specific focus on education and skills that will increase the individual's employability potential.

45. All political jurisdictions should initiate affirmative action in the field of criminal justice. The programs should be two-fold in nature. First, a sincere effort should be made to recruit minorities at entry level positions in law enforcement, corrections and the courts. Second, methods should be developed that will assure the involvement of minorities in all the decision-making processes of the criminal justice system.

Political Participation

46. A system of universal registration for Presidential and Congressional elections that would enable a citizen to vote on Election Day by appearing at the polls with proper identification, should be adopted. The system would bring into the electoral process many individuals now excluded because of cumbersome registration procedures.

47. States should be encouraged to use Election Day registrations for state and local elections as well.

48. The D.C. Voting Rights Amendment must be ratified to ensure rightful and overdue representation for the District's disenfranchised residents.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

49. Creation of a voluntary National Youth Service, open to all, but with emphasis on recruitment of economically disadvantaged youth, to operate in conjunction with -- and not in competition with -- the voluntary military; volunteers to be guaranteed a minimum period of paid employment training and educational experience designed to equip them with skills and work habits required by the economy. The registration, evaluation and counseling of the service would also serve to identify the skills and deficiencies of young Americans and prescribe remedial or skill-enhancing activities, plus offer factual information concerning a wide range of services and training opportunities and the channeling of resources into areas of national need.

(A more detailed list of Youth Development recommendations is to be found in the NUL's publication, "To Be Young, Jobless and Black".)

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1979 *

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Jan. 25:	Sears, Roebuck & Co. sues ten federal agencies over job bias laws, contending that the laws, regulations, interpretations and policies are so confusing, conflicting, arbitrary and capricious, that they cannot be complied with.
Feb. 19:	A Louis Harris Poll finds that a majority of whites favor affirmative action programs for blacks in industry, now that the Supreme Court's Bakke decision has ruled out concept of rigid quotas. It says that, by 70% to 21%, a majority of whites feel that as long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to women and minorities so that they may perform a better job.
Feb. 24:	The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission significantly reduces its 135,000 caseload to 119,000 cases, thus reducing the conciliation period for job discrimination disputes from two years to 65 days.
Feb. 25:	Sears Roebuck and Co, the nation's largest retailer, is accused of "patterns of sex, race and national origin discrimination" in violation of federal law, by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
March. 5:	In spite of a ruling made a year ago, the Library of Congress fails to establish a fund to provide lawyers for blacks and women employees who charge the library with job discrimination.
March 6:	Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson warns the city's five largest banks to include more blacks in management or risk losing a $250 million bank deposit rotation system.
March 8:	The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith's filing of a friend of the court brief in support of Brian F. Weber, a white steelworker charging the Kaiser Steel Company with reverse discrimination, divides major Jewish organizations on the issue.

* The chronology is based on news reports. In some instances the event might have occurred a day before the news item appeared.

Affirmative Action Cont.

March 12: Civil rights spokesmen voice concern over what they see as the unwarranted departures and demotions of black apointees within the Carter Administration and question its personnel practices.

March 13: Forty-six year old Col. Frank E. Peterson's nomination as the first black general in the history of the Marine Corps is confirmed by the Senate.

March 14: President Carter overturns longstanding policy requiring key federal agencies to earmark specified portions of their procurement budgets for domestic firms, small businesses and minority firms. The action was taken to stimulate foreign trade but resulted in the loss of $9 billion worth of contracts for the aforementioned firms.

March 19: The Internal Revenue Service drafts a proposal to deny federal tax exemptions to segregated private schools and acadamies found to discriminate on the basis of race.

March 20: A General Accounting Office study indicates that whites are 80 times more likely to pass the Professional Administrative Clerical Exam (PACE) than blacks and Hispanics. The exam was considered discriminatory to minorities and Rep. Patricia Schroedor recommended that it be "junked immediately."

March 28: The Supreme Court hears arguments in the Brian F. Weber v. The Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co. reverse discrimination suit and is said to attract the largest audience since the Bakke case.

March 28: The Justice Department asks the federal courts to throw out a countersuit by Sears, Roebuck and & Co., because it had not yet suffered any federal anti-discrimination enforcement and that the company's claimed injuries are "only conjectural."

April 9: The Southern Regional Council reveals in its report, "The Segregated Governments of the South," that over a 15-year period in which 2,000 blacks have run for public office, only 2.5% have been elected.

Affirmative Action Cont.

April 10: Sears, Roebuck and Co. asks a federal judge to order the attorney general to resolve "legal uncertainties" and "conflicts" surrounding the national effort to end employment discrimination, in the face of an EEOC suit charging the company with extensive job discrimination.

April 20: Union officials support of affirmative action programs begins to grow in fear of a deluge of reverse discriminations suits by individual workers, in which the union as well as the company would face suit. Union officials are said to perceive the such suits as an "anti-union" movement.

April 22: The Department of Health, Education and Welfare announces that a review of its department programs and civil rights standards since the Supreme Court's ruling on the 1978 Bakke "reverse discrimination" suit reveals that none of the major programs or activities of the Department will change.

April 25: Sears, Roebuck and Co. informs the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs that it will no longer bid on or accept federal contracts. Weldon Rougeau, director of the federal office says the action is, "evidence that Sears does not wish to comply with equal employment opportunity and affirmative action requirements imposed on all Government contractors."

May 8: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission brings suit against the Proctor & Gamble Company charging that it does not allow women to build seniority and guarantees of employment on the same basis as men, and orders the company to establish affirmative action programs.

May 9: A report by the Institute for Southern Studies at Chapel Hill, N. C. indicates that southern public schools are the least segregated in the nation, with only 12% of the black student population attending "all minority schools," compared to a national figure of 17%.

May 13: Federal District Court Judge June L. Green dismisses a suit filed by Sears, Roebuck and Company challenging the federal government's equal employment programs saying the company lacks a basis to sue because,"this alleged conflict is not sufficiently concrete."

Affirmative Action Cont.

May 22: Contractors across the nation begin to challenge the $4 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1977 through law suits questioning the constitutionality of the program which sets aside 10% of the money in each construction grant for minority firms.

June 7: The Southern Regional Council says that a survey it conducted reveals that less than 6% of federal court employees in 11 southern states are black despite the fact that they make up 20% of the population, and requests the Supreme Court to remedy "manifest race and sex discrimination" in federal court employment practices.

June 11: Statistics released by a Supreme Court tribunal reveal that most court employees are white and male. Black court employees are concentrated at lower job levels with only two black law clerks in the court's history.

June 15: Meldon Hollis, special assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Education, HEW, says that the Department is opposed to desegregation plans that would close black colleges.

June 15: The United States Navy is charged with widespread discrimination against blacks and other minorities. John Shattuck, Washington Director of the American Civil Liberties Union says that the Navy uses a quota system that restricts minority access to the Navy and gives preference to whites having the same qualifications as blacks and in some cases, less qualifications.

June 25: Forty-two-year-old Amalya L. Kearse is sworn in to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit -- the second black and first woman to sit on its bench. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall was the first black. Kearse is a graduate of the University of Michigan Law School and a member of the National Urban League's Board of Trustees.

June 28: The Supreme Court rejects the reverse discrimination suit of Brian F. Weber against the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. and rules 5 to 2 that employers and unions without proven histories of discrimination may adopt racial quotas to overcome imbalances in training and promotional programs.

Affirmative Action Cont.

June 30: Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall issues an order ending business between the Federal Government and Uniroyal, Inc. (a rubber and plastics manufacturer) because of the company's failure to resolve discrimination complaints by minorities and women.

July 5: The National Education Association charges that a federal court order to eliminate its racial quotas is forcing the association to "march backward" in its efforts to insure the representation of minority group members.

Sept. 20: A survey of 11 southern states and four cities outside the South by the Southern Regional Council discloses that three out of every five southern judges belong to all white social clubs, and that is probably the case with a majoirty of the nation's judges.

Sept. 25: An audit by the Small Business Administration shows that at least one out of every five firms receiving federal aid for minority businessmen and the disadvantaged served as a front for white contractors. Out of a total 1,505 firms, 256 should not have been funded.

Oct. 3: Small Business Administration head, A. Vernon Weaver gives 300 "minority" firms acting as fronts for white contractors 30 days to stop functioning as fronts or face elimination from the SBA's program for minorities and the disadvantaged.

Oct. 12: The Department of Health, Education and Welfare issues a five-step policy statement advising the nation's colleges and universities on how to execute voluntary affirmative action programs without being in conflict with the Supreme Court's Bakke decision.

Oct. 23: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission files five separate lawsuits charging Sear's, Roebuck and Co. with discrimination against female workers throughout the chain. Four regional Sears units were charged with discrimination against blacks and other minorities.

Nov. 14: Rep. Joseph Addabbo (D-N.Y.) discloses that several government agencies have awarded $140 million worth of federal contracts to agencies that have failed to include a provision for minority or small business participation in

Affirmative Action Cont.

violation of federal law.

Nov. 16: John B. Connally, a Republican candidate for the 1980 Presidential election denounces affirmative action programs as "negative in nature" and that, "only replaces an old form of injustice."

Nov. 24: Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, publicly criticizes John B. Connally's remarks on affirmative action declaring, "It is a clear signal to openly resist if not defy the laws of the United States."

Nov. 28: The Supreme Court hears arguments in the Fullilove v. Kreps case which challenges the $4 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1977 that requires 10% of all construction grants be awarded to minority owned firms.

Dec. 27: The Government's Professional, Administrative Career Exam undergoes substantial modification in the face of criticism that it is discriminatory to minorities. To insure the selection of more minority personnel, interviews, work experience, community involvement and school performance will be substituted as eligibility factors for the written exam. In addition, the Social Security Administration will no longer use PACE as a test for 2,800 positions.

EDUCATION

Feb. 14: The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights says that ending school segregation requires stronger federal enforcement and repeal of a Congressional amendment that strips the Department of H.E.W. of power to order busing; says worst segregation is in the Northeast and in North Carolina.

Feb. 25: A two-year study by the Dallas Independent School District shows black elementary students in segregated schoold have higher academic achievement levels than those in integrated schools.

March 5: A Louisiana federal judge agrees to allow the reopening of the racially-troubled Washington High School (70% black) in Landry Parish with an entirely new faculty and administration. Fights between black and white students had closed the school.

Education Cont.

March 7: A Census Bureau report indicates the black high school dropout rate has declined from 35% to 25% over the past 10 years. Although the figure is significant, it is still a high one compared to the 14% dropout rate for whites.

March 9: Dartmouth College minority students, who include blacks, Hispanics, Indians and women, meet with administrators, faculty members and other students to air grievances regarding racist and sexist incidents at the school.

March 27: Secretary of HEW Joseph A. Califano warns North Carolina that federal funding will be cut off if a suitable desegregation plan is not produced by the state university system.

March 28: The nation's black leaders are taking opposing view on whether a separate Cabinet-level Department of Education should be established apart from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

May 11: Bishop College, a 100-year-old black institution in Dallas, Texas, is involved in a financial scandal that could result in its federal funds being cut-off. The college is unable to account for about $2.8 million in federal student aid funds.

May 12: A federal district judge in Raleigh, North Carolina refuses to lift a temporary restraining order which would allow the Department of HEW to begin proceedings to cut-off $89 million to the University of North Carolina because of a desegregation dispute.

May 13: The Census says that for the first time in the decade, the total enrollment of students in nearly all categories of education was below 60 million between 1977 and 1978. As of October 1978, a figure of 59.9 million represented the total enrollment of students (aged 3 years and older) in public and private schools.

May 14: The research director of the Education Commission of the States says a national concern is growing about teacher competency and that many school districts are requiring their teachers take the National Teacher Examinations and others are devising competency tests of their own to ensure against illiterate teachers begetting illiterate students.

Education Cont.

May 17: This is the 25th anniversary of the historic Brown vs. the Board of Education case.

May 20: The College Board's College Scholarship Service reports students returning to school in September 1979 will face the highest college costs in history, with expenses averaging about 9% more than current expenditures.

May 22: HEW's newly released school desegregation report, entitled "Prejudice and Pride," creates controversy. It's claimed that HEW failed to release the report earlier because the opinions expressed in the report were poorly written in a hodgepodge fashion, and a number of opinions were contrary to Carter Administration policies and policies of civil rights advocates.

May 31: A federal grand jury indicts three officials of Bishop College in Dallas, Texas on charges of misapplication of more than $400,000 in pension funds. The small, black institution, also has been unable to account for $2.8 million in federal student aid.

June 5: Black students, teachers and principals of the Sumter County, Alabama school system -who've asked for a number of affirmative action measures to take place--face penalization by the board for participating in a 10-week school boycott.

June 18: The National Association of Elementary School Principals releases a 10-year study which reveals that minorities comprise less than 10% of all elementary school principals in the nation, while women make up 22%.

July 3: The Supreme Court sustains its position on busing to achieve school desegregation by a 5 to 4 vote. The decision upholds the authority of federal judges to order sweeping desegregation plans for entire school systems where school board policies have resulted in racial imbalance in parts of the system.

Sept. 27: Chicago's latest school desegregation plan is rejected by the Department of HEW on the grounds that it is unclear and presents inadequate details on achieving substantial desegregation as outlined in its objectives.

Education Cont.

Sept. 28: The House of Representatives votes 215 to 210 to create a new Department of Education with 18,000 employees and an budget of $14 billion.

Oct. 2: An American Medical Association (AMA) survey reveals medical schools are experiencing a decline in students with lower-middle income backgrounds ($10,000 to $20,000 range), citing a shift in government policy to laons, rather than scholarships, as sources of financial aid, and the awarding of scholarships to the most economically deprived students.

Oct. 20: HEW's Office for Civil Rights formally recommends that a desegregation suit be filed against the Chicago School District because desegregation can't be achieved without additional busing.

Oct. 21: More than three dozen teachers and school administrators in Ann Arbor, Michigan undergo the first of five "black English" training sessions in an effort to sensitize teachers "to students who have a black English dialect background." The action is taken after a landmark decision by U. S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner of Detroit, responding to a 1977 suit filed by parents of all black students in the Ann Arbor school system who charged that their childrens' use of the dialect resulted in their being assigned to special education classes for students with learning disabilities.

Nov. 5: Howard University professor Russell Adams says black studies programs in the nation's colleges and universities dropped from about 600 in 1961 to an average 250 by the mid-1970s because of "changes in the times and students" and actions by school administrators pressed by inflation.

Nov. 6: Most black parents in Charlotte, North Carolina say they feel busing has not enabled their children to catch-up with whites in academic performance.

Nov. 29: A confidential report to Harvard University's administration recommends that the institution's 10-year-old Afro-American Studies Department be changed to a degree-granting academic committee because of persistant "basic problems."

Education Cont.

Nov. 30: Eight parents, including 36-year-old Linda Brown--named in the historic Brown vs. Board of Education case in which the Supreme Court outlawed racial segregation in public schools in 1954--charge that the Topeka, Kansas school system remains segregated and have reopened the case on behalf of their children.

Dec. 9: For the first time, the College Board releases the average scores of black and white students who took its Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT). The gap between the two groups is wide, especially in math.

Dec. 13: Edward J. Brantley, a former director of a $120 million federal aid program for developing colleges, charges he was ordered by HEW assistant secretary Mary Berry to not make grant cuts to predominately black colleges.

POLITICS

Jan. 24: President Carter sends his budget to Congress and delivers his State of the Union address, stressing efficient government rather than new programs. He also calls for ratification of several international covenants of human, economic and social rights. Blacks in government and black leaders from across the nation, respond to the budget by saying they're unhappy with it. Ronald H. Brown, Vice President for Washington Operations of the National Urban League, sums it all up when he says: "We're concerned and distressed about any budget that doesn't meet the needs of the poor, and this one doesn't.

Jan. 26: President Carter sends Congress his legislative aganda for 1979, calling enactment of anti-inflation program his top domestic legislative priority. In his agenda, America's chief executive asks that the Secretary of H.U.D. be given the authority to block discriminatory actions by landlords and property owners.

March 5: In election primaries, Jane Byrne defeats incumbent Chicago Mayor Michael Bilandic by carrying several black wards that have traditionally gone to the Democratic machine, despite efforts by black officials to stem a "black Democrat revolt."

Politics Cont.

March 28: Bruce R. Watkins loses in his bid to become the first black Mayor of Kansas City, Mo, because of voter division along racial lines. Watkins garnered 52,800 to the winner's 73,358 - Republican Richard L. Berkley.

April 5: Jane M Byrne wins the Chicago Mayoral election by a 5 to 1 margin, amassing more than 80% of the vote from her contenders, including Andrew Pulley, a black.

April 5: Michigan Democrat Charles Diggs, Sr. is charged with 18 counts of violating House rules by the House of Representatives ethics committee. Charges include salary kickbacks and placing employees on the congressional payroll without assigned duties.

April 5: Black and Jewish organizations oppose a proposed constitutional amendment to elect Presidents and Vice Presidents by popular vote. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League testifies before the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on the Constitution, against the measure.

April 30: Ben Brown, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee is named a deputy campaign director of the Carter-Mondale Presidential Committee.

May 16: A group of mid-level black Carter Administration officials send the President a letter advising him against lifting economic sanctions against Rhodesia stressing that his decision "is at the heart of your political relations with black Americans.

May 21: President Carter scolds black Americans for not exercising their voting rights to conquer "The cancer of racial injustice...that has always been near the heart of America," in a commencement address at Cheyney State College in Pennsylvania.

May 28: The Congrssional Black Caucus initiates an "action alert communications network," which is the first part of a five region system to keep blacks informed on important national issues.

Politics Cont.

June 30: Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr. agrees to repay $40,031.66 and accept censure from his colleagues for using his federal payroll to pay personal bills. Diggs was convicted by a federal court and sentenced to three years in prison.

Aug. 3: Patricia Roberts Harris, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is sworn in as the new Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, resulting from the firing of Joseph Califano as HEW Secretary in President Carter's extensive cabinet changes.

Aug. 15: United States Representative to the United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young resigns from his post under "fire" after meeting with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in violation of U.S. policy. An initial account of the meeting given by Young was found to be untrue.

Sept. 24: Donald F. McHenry, a 42-year-old "career diplomat" and deputy to former U. N. Ambassador Andrew Young, is sworn in as Young's successor.

Oct. 11: Councilman Richard Arrington defeats Birmingham's white Mayor David Vann in a primary mayoral election with a total of 31,521 votes. If Arrington wins a run-off election scheduled for Oct. 30, he will become the first black mayor of the city.

Oct. 26: The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation spearheads a non-partisan drive to produce a 75% turnout of black voters in the 1980 Presidential election, targeting 41 areas in 15 states. The coalition is comprised of 60 civil rights, religious, labor and political groups.

Oct. 31: 45 year old Birmingham councilman Richard Arrington is elected the city's first black Mayor with 52% (44,798) of the 75 voting precincts, defeating his white opponent Frank Parsons, a lawyer.

Politics Cont.

Nov. 3: Richard G. Hatcher, the Mayor of Gary, Ind. begins coordination of a national political gathering of blacks intended to pressure Democratic and Republican 1980 Presidential Candidates to support issues of concern to blacks. The meeting is sponsored by the National Black Leadership Forum.

Nov. 4: Former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young warns that President Carter's bid for reelection in 1980 will lose black votes if his administration shifts to a hardline policy in its relations with the Caribbean and Northern Africa.

Nov. 6: Coretta Scott King, the widow of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, endorses the re-election of President Carter.

Dec. 3: 53-year old Leo E. Jackson is elected to a "ceremonial" post as Mayor of New London, Conn. becoming the first black Mayor in New England. He was elected from the observance ranks of the seven-member city council, of which he was a member.

Dec. 7: The Congressional Black Caucus withdraws a bill to make the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's birthdate a national holiday from further consideration because of an amendment by the House that would change the date to a Sunday without provision of holiday pay to workers.

Dec. 22 A study by the Joint Center for Political Studies reveals that the number of black elected officials in the United States increased by only 2% during the period of July, 1978 to July, 1979. 104 black officials were elected primarily from states with substantial black populations.

RACE RELATIONS

Feb. 18: Demographers report that Hispanics are the fastest growing growing minority group in the United States and are expected to overtake blacks as the nation's largest minority before 1985. They attribute the growth to an unprecedented immigration rate and high birth rate. The Hispanic population is young, urban and has relatively low incomes and education levels.

Race Relations Cont.

March 9:	The Census Bureau, local officials and leaders of minority groups in the United States clash over whether innovations in census-taking methods will be adequate to reduce the undercount of poor people and members of minority groups. Urban officials say they still fear millions of residents of big cities and black and Hispanic areas will either be overlooked by or evade census takers, thereby losing much needed federal aid.
April 15:	One hundred Ku Klux Klansmen of the Invisible Empire led by Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson, fought with blacks during a march through Selma, Ala. in which the Klansmen shouted "white power," and were stoned by blacks.
April 22:	Cenie J. Williams, executive director of the National Association of Black Social Workers, announces that the Association will no longer use the term "minority" to describe blacks. Williams says today's broader meaning of the term increases competition between all groups suffering discrimination for limited corporate and federal dollars.
May 6:	U.S. Attorney J. R. Brooks of Birmingham asks the Federal Bureau of investigation to determine whether federal law has been violated in the case of a white man who was shot and beaten while walking through a black neighborhood in a Ku Klux Klan robe during an alleged initiation rite.
May 12:	FBI initiates an assessment of Ku Klux Klan activity in Alabama because of several federal indictments against the Klan faction with charges ranging from shooting the homes of blacks to impersonating FBI agents.
May 27:	A march led by the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference becomes a racial clash in Decatur, Ala. when 100 Ku Klux Klansmen try to block the marchers' path and fighting erupts. Two Klansmen were shot.
June 15:	Nine Ku Klux Klansmen are convicted by a federal grand jury of terrorism in Talladega County in Alabama. The Klansmen were convicted of firing gunshots in the homes of civil rights leaders and racially mixed couples.

Race Relations Cont.

July 1: An investigation of charges of Ku Klux Klan activity aboard two ships of the Navy's Atlantic Fleet is started. The names of the two ships involved are not released and the investigation is to be conducted in secret.

July 5: Southern civil rights leaders say a new pattern of racial attitudes in the South reflect a national "white backlash" against the aspirations of blacks. The leaders cite the resurgence of Klan activity in some southern cities as evidence.

Aug. 16: The Black Leadership Forum issues a statement questioning President Carter's acceptance of Andrew Young's resignation and urging the black and Jewish communities not to allow Young's resignation to "exacerbate tension."

Aug. 19: Initial reports of a rift between the black and Jewish American communities, resulting from the resignation of U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, begin to surface the media.

Sept. 17: A ten-member delegation headed by the Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, begins a five-day "fact-finding mission," in the Middle East in response to the conflict between black and Jewish leaders over Andrew Young's resignation.

Sept. 24: The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson begins a two-week tour of the Middle East in which he urges the United States to change its policy of not talking with the Palestine Liberation Organization in the interest of peace in that region.

Oct. 7: The United States Navy declares a Ku Klux Klan "military recruiting rally," sponsored by the Invisible Empire (the most violent Klan faction according to a report by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League), off limits to 50,000 sailors and marines in Virginia Beach, Va. Adm. Thomas B. Hayward, the Navy's highest ranking officer, orders all ship and shore commanders to deal "effectively with racist activity."

Oct. 15: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of the National Urban League, criticizes the recent trips of some black leaders to the Middle East, and stresses the need for interdependence between blacks and Jews on the nation's domestic issues.

Race Relations Cont.

Oct. 18: A seven-member delegation including officials from the AFL-CIO, the A. Phillip Randolph Institute and the National Urban League, equates the Palestine Liberation Organization with the Ku Klux Klan, during its (the delegation) trip to Israel.

Oct. 30: The Black Leadership Forum charges that some members have received death threats because of their recent involvement in Middle East politics from some Jewish organizations, particularly the Jewish Defense League. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations denounces the alleged threats declaring "...such behavior has no place in our society."

Nov. 9: Four white men and a black woman are killed while preparing to participate in an "Anti-Ku Klux Klan" march, organized by the Communist Workers Party. Fourteen white men believed to be members of the Klan and the American Nazi Party were arrested and charged with the shootings.

Nov. 11: A report issue by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith says that the Ku Klux Klan is likely to grow because of the doubling of its field of non-member sympathizers in a period of 20 months and its attraction of "younger more violence prone" members.

Nov. 13: United States Catholic bishops begin consideration of a "Pastoral Letter on Racism," which would urge individual Catholics and church institutions to examine their investment portfolios, to determine whether they inadvertently support racist institutions and policies.

Nov. 22: Iranian militants in Tehran, who seize the American Embassy and demanded the former Shah be returned to that country, release (Thanksgiving Day) eight black men and 5 white women. The Iranian government says it considers the 13 to have been victims of oppression.

Dec. 2: The demise of "A Better Chance" which brought blacks students from across the nation to Wisconsin to participate in previously all white shorewood High School's voluntary desegregation program, seems to indicate a new racial attitude among so-called liberal whites. The attitude is one in which, "whites seem increasingly committed to integration as an ideal...but are increasingly reluctant to support the mechanics of integration.

Race Relations Cont.

Dec. 3: The Swope Parkway United Christian Church in Kansas City, Mo. is formed from the merging of the white Swope Parkway Church and the black West Paseo Christian Church because of mutual financial problems. The merger is heralded as "...an inspiring example of how black and white people should get along."

Dec. 8: Twenty-nine-year-old David Duke, the grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan begins a New England recruitment drive in Waterbury, Conn. An NAACP chapter estimates the number of Klan members in the area to be 200.

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